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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-081

Thursday

29 April 1993

# Daily Report

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FBIS-AFR-93-081

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29 April 1993

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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**Zambian Bank Official on RSA Role in Economic Growth**

*MB2804163793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1434  
GMT 28 Apr 93*

[By Sean Feely]

[Text] Warmbaths April 28 SAPA—South Africa's future relations with other African countries and the continent's trade and financial organisations was of critical importance to the economic growth of Africa.

This is according to the Governor of the Bank of Zambia Dominic Mulaisho, speaking at an IDASA [Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa] conference on Wednesday near Warmbaths in the northern Transvaal.

"A key element in the resurgence of Africa will be the type of cooperation that will emerge between South Africa, other African countries, and the regional African institutions," he said.

Mr. Mulaisho urged for South African participation in the African Development Bank [ADB], saying "they can make a major impact on African development in general."

The largest economy in Africa should become a full partner in the activities of regional African organisations, including the Preferential Trade Area and Southern African Development Community.

South Africa's valuable role in this cooperation could be through trade promotion and the provision of finance. The country also had a leadership role to play "in the liberalisation and expansion of African financial markets and programmes to raise the levels of investment and rate of economic growth across the whole continent," Mr. Mulaisho said.

South Africa's prominent role because of its skills, resources and financial strength would also in conjunction with African regional institutions and the ADB enable the continent to embark upon large scale projects.

"The future growth and development of the whole continent depends (on these large projects). The present policy of every country attempting to go it alone with the support of international donor agencies has distinct limits," Mr. Mulaisho said.

**Zimbabwean Minister Addresses Denuclearization Meeting**

*MB0504161993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1524  
GMT 5 Apr 93*

[Text] Harare April 5 SAPA—Africa should maintain its right to use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said on Monday [5 April].

The ZIANA news agency reports that in an address read on Mr. Shamuyarira's behalf at the opening of a meeting of experts on the "denuclearisation" of Africa, the minister said nuclear technology had important uses in other sectors such as health. "Giving up the military option for Africa does not mean relinquishing the right to develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. Nuclear technology has important uses in health, hydrology, mining and power generation. Africa should maintain its right to use this technology," said Mr. Shamuyarira.

He was speaking as representatives from the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity met to draft a treaty making Africa a nuclear-free continent, and a few weeks after South Africa's disclosure it had produced [words indistinct] the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

**Ministers Make Decisions on Coffee Market**

*AB2804152893 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 1900 GMT 27 Apr 93*

[Text] Ministers from African coffee producing countries separated this afternoon following two days of proceedings on the deadlocked negotiations with consumers and the discouraging prospects on the coffee market. The African ministers decided to embark on a set of actions in the coming weeks. A committee of experts was set up to make proposals for drafting an action plan for the autonomous management of the market by producers. However, the African coffee producing countries reaffirmed their commitment and preparedness to resume negotiations on a new international coffee agreement. Here is an excerpt of the final communiqué read by Minister Guy Alain Gauze.

[Begin Guaze recording] Diplomatic consultations will be undertaken in the next few days. The green light has been given to the current chairman by the African ministers. These consultations will have a multidimensional approach. We therefore expect to begin these high-level consultations in order to prepare a better climate for more flexibility in the next talks between producers, on one hand, and producers and consumers on the other. Concurrently, African producer countries intend to propose to their Asian and Latin American partners the early establishment of an autonomous market management system during the interval between now and the end of the negotiations, so as to control the constant depreciation of the price of coffee, which is detrimental to our economies.

When a report is submitted by the technical committee, which has been mandated to examine the concrete proposals, Africa will then take the initiative to convene a consultative meeting with all the world coffee producing countries so that collectively we can manage the world coffee market, instead of managing it under the control of an international coffee agreement. I would like to explain that the primary wish of African producers remains the management of the world coffee market under the control of an agreement within the framework

of North-South cooperation. If this proves impossible, however, African producers will assume their full responsibility, because their survival depends on it. [end recording]

#### \* Phenomenon of African 'Brain Drain' Examined

##### \* Statistics Cited

*93AF0468A Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Dec 92 pp 3-4*

[Article: "The Brain Drain: Sighting for Greener Pastures"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Africa is a continent of migrants. Out of a total population of around 640 million, 35 million live outside their countries. Although the majority of these are refugees, skilled and unskilled workers account for a growing proportion of the total. In 1987, according to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), 70,000 Africans, representing 30 per cent of the skilled manpower stock, were officially resident in European Community (EC) countries.

In recent years the brain drain in member countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) has taken a definite pattern with skilled people leaving countries like Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique to work in the Southern Africa Customs Union countries of Botswana, South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia. Botswana, with its buoyant economy, and South Africa, with its large industrial base, absorb the largest number of skilled people.

The reason for the brain drain is not hard to find. In the last decade, per capital incomes in the countries now losing skilled people declined by between 10 and 20 per cent. The situation was worsened by the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes. The Southern Africa Labour Commission (SALC) says that the pruning of the civil service, privatisation of parastatals and the massive devaluation of national currencies has had adverse effects not only on the poor, but also on the educated elite.

Poor salaries in the civil service are also driving people away. In Tanzania, for example, the highest paid civil servant earns about U.S.\$134 a month compared to U.S.\$3,000 for a professor in Botswana, or between U.S.\$1,000 and U.S.\$3,000 for a top civil servant in Namibia. According to a recent SALC paper: "when the net salary of a senior civil servant is below U.S.\$100 per month, the end result is that the civil service and other skilled manpower are not motivated. They seek to migrate to those neighbouring countries within the sub-region where working conditions are better."

SALC warns that if the outflow of qualified and experienced nationals from southern Africa is not reduced or reversed, prospects for developing and transforming the economies will be greatly jeopardised.

Governments have had to hire expatriates—at great cost to their economies—to replace those qualified nationals who leave. Zambia has lost hundreds of primary and secondary school teachers to Botswana and has had to hire expatriates, who are paid much higher salaries than their nationals could ever dream of. But because salaries for expatriates are often tied to aid programmes, governments find them an easier option. Africa currently spends an estimated U.S.\$4 billion a year on about 100,000 expatriates.

In the region, most of the skilled labour is finding its way to South Africa where the demand is greatest. According to South Africa's Manpower Commission, the country will be short of 228,000 professional and technical workers by the year 2000. With majority rule on the horizon, more skilled people, particularly whites, are likely to leave, further worsening the shortage. But because of the attractive conditions it offers, South Africa will continue to draw skilled manpower from the rest of the region.

In a war situation, those with marketable skills are usually the first to leave when the situation becomes unbearable. In the SADC region this has been the case in Angola, which is now looking for assistance to bring back 10,000 of its nationals who graduated abroad during the civil war.

Educated people have a low survival rate in countries with repressive governments. Consequently Malawi and Kenya, with poor human rights' records, have lost many intellectuals who opted to become political refugees in neighbouring countries and abroad to escape persecution at home. In general the tendency is for skilled people to migrate from the poorer to the better off countries. The irony is that poorer countries have to bear the costs of training, while the benefits accrue to the richer countries which can afford to employ them. According to SALC, of the 345 academic staff at the University of Botswana in 1991, 209 were expatriates. The University of Zambia on the other hand lost 200 of its academic staff between 1984 and 1991. Fifty-nine Zambian nationals are at the University of Botswana.

According to a 1986/89 manpower plan for Zimbabwe, more than 80,000 skilled people should have been available for the production sub-sectors by 1990, but this was not achieved despite massive investment in education and training. Since 1980, the number of training colleges for skilled manpower in Zimbabwe has increased from two to 11. Education continues to be the largest expense item on the budget since independence. In 1992, Z\$1.9 billion or 29.7 per cent of the total recurrent expenditure was allocated to education. But because of poor working conditions, Zimbabwe is increasingly becoming a training ground for SACU [expansion not given] countries.

What is being done to entice nationals back home? The International Organisation for Migration (IOM), an organisation which assists refugees and skilled nationals

to return home, has helped to resettle 1,053 qualified Africans since 1983. It gets jobs for them, pays their removal expenses and gives them a settling in allowance in the first month of their return. The largest number of returnees who have benefitted from the IOM programme are university lecturers, engineers, medical doctors, agronomists and biologists.

As governments struggle to create jobs for their nationals in shrinking economies, the focus of the IOM programme is shifting. Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe have shown interest in a special IOM programme which will facilitate the return of small-scale entrepreneurs who will benefit their countries through technology transfer and by creating jobs. The IOM will finance the purchase of equipment for some of the returnees or arrange loans for them from local lending institutions.

But as long as the economies of southern African countries are performing dismally, they will continue to lose skilled people to those offering better salaries and perks. An IOM seminar held in Harare in February, warned that it was pointless to assist nationals to return home as long as the problems which drove them away were not tackled. The conference recommended the introduction of supplementary salaries for skilled returnees and called for the provision of better housing.

At the moment, the SADC countries, which are the main reservoirs for skilled manpower, are caught in a vicious bind. They can only retain the skills if they offer better working conditions and higher salaries. But they will only be able to pay higher salaries if their economies are vibrant. At the rate they are losing skills however, it will be hard for the SADC economies to recover, and development will be retarded. Their only hope is to train more people in anticipation that some will stay to develop the countries, and that those who left will return once the economies improve.

#### \* Malawi Doctors

93AF0468B Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Dec 92 p 5

[Article: "Malawi: Persuading the Doctors To Stay"]

[Text] Malawi has only 120 doctors working at the government institutions in a country of nine million people. But of these, only 30 are local, the rest are expatriates. "Our experience has been very disappointing," says Dr John Chimphangwi, project director of Malawi's first college of medicine set up recently to try and reduce the brain drain in this sector. "Over 50 per cent of our students who go abroad for training never come back..."

The brain drain in the medical field has been particularly severe. Low salaries and poor working conditions have kept most doctors qualifying abroad away. A newly qualified doctor joining the civil service can expect to

earn as little as MK800 (about US\$200) a month—usually less than the pocket money received at university.

Until recently, medical students from Malawi did pre-clinical studies at British universities and only came home to complete the final year. The government argued that the country was losing so many doctors, because they were being trained abroad. It has now set up a college of medicine in Blantyre which will obviate the need for doctors going to Britain for part of their training. The World Bank however argues that the country will continue to lose doctors until it offers them competitive salaries and better conditions of service. Government doctors, for example, were not allowed to supplement their salaries by running private surgeries. But faced with the exodus of doctors, the government has scrapped the legislation.

Malawi's government is now taking the Bank's advice seriously. In April this year, doctors and other civil servants with critical skills received salary increases of between 30 and 35 per cent. They are now also getting professional allowances which have boosted their salaries by up to 70 per cent.

Apart from the medical profession, the University of Malawi has also lost lecturers. About 12 senior lecturers have gone to Botswana, Zimbabwe and other African universities which offer higher salaries. With other professions, both in the private sector and the civil service, shortages of qualified manpower is due to the inadequacy of training facilities in the country.

Until 1986 when Malawi opened its college of accountancy, no training for accountants was available locally. Expatriate accountants still outnumber locals by two to one. But this trend is slowly changing as locally trained accountants qualify. "We are hoping to produce 20 accountants a year after 1992," says Mr Nesan Ronan, chief technical advisor on secondees to the college from the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

Training accountants locally will save the country foreign currency. It costs about U.S.\$26,000 to train an accountant abroad. But the number of accountants being trained still falls far short of requirements. Studies show that by 1996, Malawi will need an additional 368 accountants.

The civil service still relies on expatriates for professionals in most of the technical fields. In 1986, the year for which latest figures are available, there was a 35.1 per cent vacancy rate for architects, quantity surveyors and engineers; 53.5 per cent for doctors, dentists and pharmacists; and 84.2 per cent for senior administrative and management positions. At that time, 40 doctors and dentists, nine pharmacists, 21 engineers and 43 architects and town planners were training abroad and were expected to return by 1991. Such small numbers will hardly make a dent in the critical manpower shortage areas.

For Malawi the shortage of skills is not only because many are leaving the country in search of greener pastures. It is also because the country lacks adequate training facilities to produce the skills necessary for the economy which, according to government forecasts, is expected to grow by 4.5 per cent a year up to 1996.

#### \* Namibian Attractions

93AF0468C Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Dec 92 p 7

[Article: "Namibia: The Land of Fortune, But Not for All"]

[Text] Attracted by the fable that diamonds lie gleaming in the sand somewhere near Windhoek's city centre and by the excitement and optimism of a newly-independent country, Africa's fortune seekers have found their way to Namibia. As far away as Accra, Ghanaian confidence tricksters were reportedly talking people out of their life savings with promises of a job.

Namibia does need foreign skills. Before independence in 1990, most of the skilled jobs were reserved for whites, including many from South Africa. Under apartheid, blacks were discouraged from mathematics, the sciences and other practical subjects, and at work, training and promotion opportunities were scarce. Also, many blacks were denied any form of education and vast areas of the country hardly received any development or skilled personnel.

But despite the need for professionals in many fields, few have found jobs or made their fortunes.

Newcomers are not encouraged in the country where business and the executive level of the 64,000-strong civil service are still dominated by whites. Immigration procedures are as tight or worse than in Europe or the United States. The immigration department inherited many of the tough civil servants of the South African administration, but even the new government, which became more firmly in control, has proven to be equally as tough.

Despite the immigration roadblocks and seemingly unwelcoming climate, Namibia continues to attract job seekers from all over Africa and even as far afield as Yugoslavia. The appeal includes a hard currency—the South African rand—and there are good schools and health-care and not too much crime.

Conditions in the civil service are among the best in Africa. Management grades earn from R3,000 to \$9,000 (US\$1000 to US\$3000) a month before tax. Other perks include heavily subsidised house purchase loans of up to R155,000 (enough for a modest three-bedroom house in Windhoek) and virtually free car loans of up to R120,000, with allowances to cover nearly all repayments. Namibia must have more Mercedes and BMWs per head of population than most places in the world, the cost disguised as budget capital spending. These perks

plus an "affirmative action" programme and other bids to change structures, have been responsible for a mini-brain drain within the country, with the most ambitious and able from trade unions and non-governmental organisations moving to the civil service.

One good way to come into the Namibian job market is through the United Nations agencies which are a big feature of Windhoek life. Recently a row between the government and the United Nations agencies reached the press when Namibians complained to immigration officials of spouses and other relatives getting secretarial and consultancy jobs in the U.N.

Consultancies are another big-paying way to come. The need is strong for people with management experience who can offer alternatives to the South African way of running things in administration, education, trade and industry, law, information and other fields. Namibia has benefitted considerably from the Ghanaians, Zimbabweans and others who have helped with training in new fields such as diplomacy. The new University of Namibia, to open its doors in January 1993, will also need help.

Others working in Namibia include doctors, nurses and other technical skills in short supply. Bilateral agreements, which include manpower, have been established with Zambia, Ghana and Nigeria and often the staff find themselves out in remote smaller towns such as Katima Mulilo or Opuwo where they fill in skills shortages.

#### \* South Africa

93AF0468D Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Dec 92 pp 8-9

[Article: "Goings and Comings"; italicized words as published]

[Text] While many countries in the region worry about the loss of skilled professionals, South Africa is trying to keep its own professionals and new job seekers employed.

An uncertain political climate and a worsening economy has many professionals on tenderhooks, checking out the possibilities of living abroad. Analysts predict that white South Africans will try to leave in the next few years as the violence escalates and the country's future under democratic rule remains unclear.

Increased violence in the past has often led to panic and what South Africans call "chicken runs." After the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, and after black students took to the streets in Soweto in 1977 and 1978, whites fled the country. The largest brain drain occurred in 1986 and 1987, when 10,008 whites left the country after the African National Congress (ANC) began its bombing campaign of shopping malls and discotheques.

In the past few years however, the rate at which professionals leave the country has remained relatively stable. Between January and July 1992, 1,176 economically

active South Africans emigrated. Another 1,220 people who are not economically active also left. Only 70 accountants and 71 doctors left last year, according to South Africa's Central Statistical Service.

Now more than ever, English-speaking whites talk of contingency plans should the political situation remain unsolved and the economy worsens. "People are falling over themselves trying to get information about leaving the country," said Ms Liz Spring, whose company publishes *Emigration Planner for South Africans*. And for the first time, Afrikaners who constitute three million of South Africa's five million whites, are also rethinking their future plans. Many farmers are being lured to Zambia and Paraguay by attractive farming opportunities, but most still do not have the option to leave. One in three English-speaking households has given thought to the idea of moving, and only 14 per cent have actual plans to leave the country in the next six months to a year, according to a recent poll by Research Surveys, a company in Cape Town.

In most years South Africa actually gains more educated immigrants than it loses. Overall, 2,153 economically active people from other countries moved to South Africa between January and June this year, a drop of 1,657 from the same period in 1991. Last year South Africa gained 35 accountants and 197 doctors, although it lost 105 engineers. But despite this loss, the Engineering Council of South Africa claims that the country at the moment has too many engineers. "The engineers come to us and say they cannot find jobs. None of the firms say they need more engineers," said Ms Annetjie Espuch, who works for the council.

The country is also losing its fair share of accountants. Over several years, the Institute of Chartered Accountants has lost about 16 per cent of its total membership to emigration, about 2,000 people. And for those left behind, the market is shrinking. "Years back we had a shortage of accountants, but with the present economic situation 29 accountants are now unemployed. This has never happened before," said Ms Christine McDonald, finance director for the Institute.

Although it now seems like the country is at a stage where it cannot absorb the skilled labour coming in due to its declining economy and a recession now in its forth year, some analysts warn that the emigration of the country's own professionals is bound to hurt in the long run. The immigrants coming to South Africa, many of them East Europeans and Asians, do not have the same level of training as the doctors, accountants and engineers who leave. Many also cannot speak English well.

One area which has experienced a shortage of staff is the medical profession. In April 1990, the South African Medical and Dental Council opened the floodgates for immigrant doctors by scrapping the examination requirement for foreign-trained doctors. Their attempt to redress an earlier brain drain that resulted in a shortage of doctors in the state sector led to 1,900

doctors arriving to practice in South Africa. Local trade union leaders worry that the government and the private sector will avoid responsibility for upgrading the skills of South Africans, particularly blacks, if this recruitment of foreign workers continues.

Analysts predict that although the country has experienced a brain drain, this will begin to taper off because while South Africans talk about leaving, many have no place to go. England, Australia, the United States and Canada have strict immigrant quotas that prevent more than a handful from settling, especially since their economies are also in bad shape and unemployment high.

#### \* Zambia Losing Graduates

93AF0468E Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Dec 92 p 9

[Article: "Zambia: Moving Backwards"]

[Text] Some call them "economic refugees," while the more unsympathetic refer to Zambia's skilled professionals who have joined the great trek to the south for more lucrative employment as "unpatriotic citizens." But calling them names will not stop the exodus of skilled professionals, which has resulted in a grave manpower crisis for the country. Lured by the Pula and the Rand, the bulk of Zambia's professionals have migrated to Botswana, South Africa and Swaziland. Some have also sought employment in the "nominally independent" homelands.

The loss of skilled people cuts across the professional board: doctors, university professors, teachers, engineers, accountants have all packed their bags for greener pastures. The national airlines, Zambian Airways, has also lost about 10 pilots to Zimbabwe and Ethiopia.

This professional flight has compounded the new government's efforts to turn the economy around and develop this southern African nation, which has been wracked by a mounting external debt, spiraling inflation and high commodity prices. President Frederick Chiluba's government immediately tried to stem the exodus by raising the salaries of professionals and all categories of workers, but the new salary scales are still no match for what can be earned in neighbouring countries. Also, the salary increases fueled inflation, putting the government in greater jeopardy of keeping its economic reform programme on track.

The brain drain has had the greatest impact on the country's two universities—the campus in Lusaka and the Copperbelt University in Kitwe. Over 200 lecturers have left the country since the early 1980s, and some departments are on the point of closure. For example, at the law school, only five lecturers are left from an establishment of 21; the humanities and social sciences have three left out of 13; and the business and psychology departments have closed because of the staff crisis.

The University of Zambia Lecturers and Researchers Association has called on the government to improve the salaries and conditions of services for lecturers to avert a complete shutdown of the learning institutions. A professor now earns about ZK40,000 (about US\$200) per month, but the lecturers have demanded that the lowest paid lecturer should not receive less than ZK112,000 per month. The association has also demanded other perks like housing and car loans. To own a modest three-bedroomed house, some five million kwachas is needed, and second-hand cars are now sold for not less than two million kwachas, far out of the reach of most workers. Most Zambian workers have subsidised housing, but with the advent of privatisation, firms will scrap their subsidised housing policies and ask workers to fend for themselves.

Besides university dons, scores of secondary school teachers are also leaving the country. Although no precise figures are available, the Secondary Schools Teachers Association of Zambia estimated that migration now accounts for about 40 per cent of the number of teachers trained by the government.

The state's response to the teacher's crisis has been to recruit more from abroad. In 1990, the Teaching Service Commission recruited 521 secondary school teachers from Egypt, Mauritius, Kenya, Ghana, India, and Sri Lanka, mainly to teach science and mathematics. This move angered the Zambia National Union of Teachers, which argued that the government could keep its own teachers if it just paid them the salaries which are offered to expatriates.

Zambia's government has little room to manoeuvre. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank-backed Structural Adjustment Programme cannot accommodate further salary increments, particularly for workers in the bloated public service, until the current retrenchment programme to reduce its size is completed.

#### \* Zimbabwe: Low Salaries

*93AF0468F Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Dec 92 pp 10-11*

[Article: "Zimbabwe: Looking for a Better Deal"]

[Text] Twenty-five year old Benson Muchechetere completed an economics degree at the University of Zimbabwe two years ago. He could not get a job in the private sector and is teaching at a secondary school in Harare.

Twelve years ago Mr Muchechetere would have walked into a well paying job in the private sector straight from university, and he would have been able to rent or buy a house in the low density suburbs in no time. Now with his wife and one-year-old daughter, he rents two rooms in Highfields, one of the city's high density townships. On his current salary he has no hope of buying a car or a house.

Mr Muchechetere is not alone. Young, educated Zimbabweans are finding it harder and harder to make ends meet, and most cannot afford to put a roof over their heads. "On their return, our staff development fellows can't afford to rent decent houses, let alone buy them," says Dr Charles Nhachi, president of the Association of University Teachers. Houses in the low density suburbs which cost between Z\$15,000 (US\$3,000 at today's exchange rate) and Z\$45,000 in 1980, now cost between Z\$200,000 and one million Zimbabwean dollars—way out of reach of most young professionals who earn on average about Z\$3,000 a month.

When schools close in December, Mr Muchechetere plans to go to Botswana to look for a job. "I don't think it's fair to myself and my family to continue living like this," he says. He will join the 15,000-odd skilled people who have left Zimbabwe in the past decade to seek their fortunes in the better off neighbouring countries of South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia.

Since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has produced 500 medical doctors but over that period 448 have left the country leaving a net gain of only 52. Out of 50 chartered accountants who qualify every year, half are lost to southern African countries with Botswana and South Africa taking the majority. Three quarters of Zimbabwe's veterinary doctors are now working outside the country. With the end of apartheid in South Africa, the loss of skills to that country is likely to worsen. The University of Zimbabwe has an establishment of 1,138 academic staff, but at the moment has 363 vacant posts or 32 per cent of the vacancies not filled. The most critical shortage areas are commerce, with a 63 per cent vacancy rate; engineering 45 per cent and medicine 34 per cent.

Faced with the exodus of young white skilled professionals at independence, the government introduced four-year bonding for apprentices and doctors to prevent them from leaving. But this did not work and was later scrapped. By then the majority of those leaving were black.

The main casualty of the brain drain has been the public service where salaries are uncompetitive and conditions of service poor. For instance, senior doctors in Zimbabwe earn the equivalent of US\$9,135 a year, while their counterparts in Botswana earn US\$13,441. Zimbabwe's tax rates are also much higher than in neighbouring countries with a top rate of 55 per cent.

There has also been an internal brain drain from the civil service to the private sector where besides higher salaries, there are generous perks. These may include company cars, subsidised holidays, housing and grocery allowances as well as school fees for children.

The government tends to look at those leaving the country as ungrateful traitors. The minister of higher education Mr Stan Mudenge says the taxpayer, like any investor, expects a return on his investment, so educated people have a moral obligation to serve the society which

educated them. According to Mr Mudenge, it costs the taxpayer Z\$22,250 to maintain one student at the university. Of this amount, the student pays only Z\$2,250. At technical colleges the cost is Z\$10,930 and the student's share is Z\$1,590.

Vice President Mr Joshua Nkomo is even harsher, describing those leaving the country as "mercenaries." "Zimbabwe continues to lose skilled manpower trained in its institutions and at its expense, because these shameless mercenaries run away from their country for a few dollars more, instead of staying on to create the infrastructure that would employ their fellow Zimbabweans."

Mr Nkomo has cause to be frustrated, but has laid the blame in the wrong quarter. The government should instead examine how it has managed the economy, as the migration of professionals is closely linked to a country's economic performance. In the early 1980s when the economy was reasonably sound, many skilled people who had worked outside the country before independence returned home. Most of them took up posts in the public sector left vacant by the departing whites.

But years of mismanagement started to tell on the economy with falling per capita incomes, higher inflation and severe shortages of consumer goods. The introduction of the economic reform programme last year, although it offers an eventual cure, has temporarily worsened the situation. Prices of most goods have shot up, the value of the Zimbabwe dollar plummeted and tight monetary policies have made money expensive. The deteriorating conditions coupled with the changing

political climate in South Africa has made migration to that country more attractive for skilled Zimbabweans.

Because the economy is shrinking and the government is trying to reduce spending, some of the skilled people are leaving the country because they cannot get jobs. According to the president of the Zimbabwe Nurses Association, Mrs Clara Nondo, out of 380 nurses who graduated this year, only 41 have been employed.

But in what it considers critical shortage areas, the government is now trying to stop the brain drain. Last year it increased the salaries of university lecturers by 30 per cent. In October this year, lecturers at the medical school were awarded a 50 per cent retention allowance, which has left their salaries 90 per cent higher than that of the lecturers at the main campus. This has angered the academic staff who were excluded.

Dr Nhachi says this could trigger more resignations from disgruntled staff. While the new salaries might temporarily reduce the number of staff leaving, he says, they are not good enough to attract new lecturers as they are still below those in neighbouring countries. For instance, including the retention allowance, a professor at the medical school in Zimbabwe now makes Z\$129,960 while his counterpart in Botswana makes the equivalent of Z\$179,000 a year.

Zimbabwe must reverse the brain drain to get the full benefits of its huge investment in education. Instead of the current piecemeal approach, where it only deals with the symptoms such as the low salaries, it should put more effort in reviving the economy, reducing the tax burden and hence improve the living standards for everyone.

**Chad****Student Engage in 'Vandalism' After Strike**

*AB2804211793 Ndjamenia Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Summary from poor reception] Students of the University of Chad committed "acts of vandalism" this morning after a general assembly where the chairman of the student association addressed about 200 to 300 of his comrades. "It is during this general assembly that tension rose" when the student leader "announced that the government did not seem to be concerned by their grievances after a 48-hour strike notice that ended today."

The chairman of the student association said that grievances were presented to the government because there were problems and the government lied to them. He said that the "government did not keep its promise." He also noted the "arrogance shown by some members of the government." He said that these government members told them they could go on strike if they wish and that this will not "prevent them from sleeping."

**Damage Prime Minister's Residence**

*AB2804182393 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] Students have rioted in the Chadian capital of Ndjamenia, setting fire to official cars and damaging the prime minister's residence. A BBC correspondent says the demonstrators burned a sentry box and threw stones into the building. The students were demanding that the government pay their grant arrears and improve study conditions.

**Sao Tome and Principe****Education Minister Elected Ruling Party Boss**

*AB2804212993 Paris AFP in French 1845 GMT 26 Apr 93*

[Text] Sao Tome, 26 Apr (AFP)—Mr. Joao Bonfim, the Sao Tomean minister of education, youth, and sports, has been elected to head the ruling Party for Democratic Convergence [PCD]. He replaces Mr. Daniel Daio, who resigned from his post three months ago, it was learned from informed sources here yesterday.

Considered a moderate within his party, Mr. Bonfim, who was elected during a meeting of the PCD National Council, will have the task of preparing the party's congress, slated for next November. This congress will be held to elect a new leadership and approve new statutes and a new program.

According to the opposition, Mr. Bonfim's election to the head of the ruling party will help create a climate of dialogue between all the country's political forces with a

view to forming a government of national unity, demanded by the opposition.

He will hold both his present office and that of PCD secretary general.

**Zaire****Foreign Minister on Ties With Belgium, Other Issues**

*LD2804221693 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1346 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Statement by Minister of Foreign Relations Mpinga Kasenda to members of Parliament "on the question of interference of Western countries in the internal affairs of the Republic of Zaire"; from the Palace of the Nation—live]

[Excerpts] [Kasenda] The minister of foreign relations is not the best qualified to respond to this, since this is a matter of questions to do with the competence of the head of government and the technical ministries.

Nevertheless, as a member of the government, I can assure you that your concerns are equally the concerns of your government. You will indeed remember that during the first meeting of the Council of Ministers of the government of Broad National Unity and Public Salvation, a number of measures that were adopted were brought to the attention of both national and international opinion. [passage omitted]

Concerns about foreign policy: I am now raising sensitive questions about relations between Zaire and its main partners, in particular with the Kingdom of Belgium. Nevertheless, before giving a specific reply to the majority of your concerns, I would like to stress that what I said on 27 April 1993 covered almost all of them.

New directions in Zairean diplomacy: In accordance with the decisions of the government, your Ministry of Foreign Relations has undertaken a number of actions aimed not only at preserving and strengthening relations of good neighborliness in order to preserve our security, but also to give a new dynamic to relations of bilateral cooperation with other African countries and with all those partners who respect our sovereignty and our independence, and to diversify them.

In implementation of this diplomacy of neighborliness and development, I can tell you that a timetable of visits to African, Asian, Arab, and some Eastern European countries has already been drawn up.

The opening of a Zairean Embassy in Pretoria: On this question, I should like to assure the honorable deputies that their government has undertaken all the measures to finalize this project. Your ministry is currently busy with the diplomatic procedures necessary in this matter.

Ban on the granting of Zairean entry visas to Belgian nationals, except to those who have invested in our country: As I told you last time, your government is behaving responsibly in making its decisions. Thus, it is that in this matter it is applying the principle of reciprocity, one of the sacred rules of the Vienna Convention, which regulates relations between sovereign states. It has furthermore undertaken to make the Belgians and Western countries realize that it is inconceivable that those who preach democracy should forbid entry to their territory to Zairean nationals because they are connected with, or support, the policy of an existing head of state who is recognized by the Sovereign National Conference as an institution of the transition, and to whom their ambassadors are accredited.

Car. one consider that these compatriots are being punished for their opinions? What does political pluralism mean then to those countries applying this discriminatory and hurtful measure, which evidently violates human rights?

Closure of all offices, agencies, and branches of Zairean companies in Belgium: On this question, I would like to point out to you that it does not come under the competence of the Ministry of Foreign Relations. As I said earlier, the government of Broad National Unity and Public Salvation will not fail to inform you, at the proper time, of its intentions on this subject.

Submission to the International Court of Justice in The Hague of the Belgo-Zairean dispute: On the subject of this thorny case, I should like to reassure the honorable deputies that the negotiators at that time shared your view: to submit it to the International Court of Justice in the Hague to find a definitive solution to this dispute. But given the international environment at the time, which did not favor Zaire, and the complexity of the case, we decided to accept the negotiations that ended up with the Rabat agreements of July 1989 [which put an end to a 9-month rift with Belgium arising after press and parliamentary criticism of Zaire there and during which Zaire inter alia suspended debt repayments and called for nationals to withdraw investments from Belgium] because a bad agreement is better than a good court case.

Anyway, as they say, every cloud has a silver lining, since this crisis is enabling us to recover our strength. On this subject, I can tell you that the government is looking into the technical aspects of this project with the aim of bringing it up to date before starting procedures again at a suitable time. Thus, the government is waiting to receive further information able to fill out the file, such as the facts presented by some honorable deputies during the plenary session of Saturday 25 April 1993. [passage omitted]

Reopening of the Belgo-Zaire dispute: As for the reopening of the Belgo-Zairean dispute, I can inform you that the government of Broad National Unity and Public Salvation shares the view of the honorable deputies on this subject.

[applause] All the more so since the Rabat agreements that settled this dispute were unilaterally denounced by the Belgian Government.

[Excepts] Thus, the Republic of Zaire no longer feels itself bound by the Rabat agreements since 27 May 1990, the date at which it considers the case to have been reopened by the actions of the Belgian Government itself. [applause]

Furthermore, the Sovereign National Conference, in one of its resolutions, also decided on the reopening of this dispute. This is why your government believes that if the negotiations it intends to restart immediately between the two sides do not come to any conclusion, the case will be transferred to the International Court of Justice in The Hague for settlement. [applause]

Breaking of diplomatic relations with Belgium: After a careful analysis of the political, economic, and social situation in Zaire, and of the international environment in which we currently live, the government of Broad National Unity and Public Salvation, has noted the following considerations:

First: As a whole, the Republic of Zaire has good relations with many countries throughout the world. It is thus eager to maintain and even to strengthen them in the higher interest of the nation.

Second: Western countries are not all fundamentally hostile to Zaire. The latter even has good friends among the members of the European Economic Community who, out of temporary considerations of solidarity with Belgium, are not doing anything that might hinder that country in its test of strength with its former colony.

Third: The American, French, and Belgian peoples are not hostile to the Zairean people. It even occurs that they wonder why some of their leaders should attack a disaster-struck country, which needs solidarity from everyone to get out of the deep crisis in which it has been struggling for several years.

Fourth: The Zairean people, the most peaceful people possible, bear no feeling of rejection or hatred toward the American, French, and Belgian peoples, nor toward any other people in the world. They are simply asking that their independence, unity, and freedom to organize themselves according to their own nature be respected.

Fifth: Some Belgian politicians, for some obscure reason, believe themselves authorized to deal with Zaire's internal problems as if that country was under their guardianship. Considerations of internal politicking and the preservation of trading interests is a partial explanation of this backward-looking behavior.

Sixth: After 33 years of independence, the Republic of Zaire has trained nationalist executives able to stand up to any attempt at recolonization wherever it comes from. Too bad for those who, placing their trust in a few overexcited individuals running around their capitals, think that they can infringe with impunity the dignity and freedom of a whole people.

Regarding the severing of diplomatic relations, you have expressed your indignation on behalf of the Zairean people and the government of Zaire shares this indignation. However, if I am right, you asked your government to examine all the facets of the question. The government has done just that, and it is bringing you, maybe without going into the details, the main results of its reflections on the matter. As for the rest, I agree with those who propose that concrete measures aimed at reviewing our relations with certain partners are taken. I talked about that earlier, when I said that diplomacy offers us a range of, as I said, retaliatory measures that the government could use through the diplomatic channels that all civilized peoples, who have relations of cooperation with others, use.

We will find ourselves among the right people to make everybody understand that the Republic of Zaire will no longer accept that anyone who has not been mandated by the Zairean people to speak on their behalf comes along to manage the affairs of Zaire in the stead and place of its leaders.

Therefore, I understand your indignation and I understand your wrath, but you must also understand the position of your government. It has to analyze a series of parameters that led it to make the decision that perhaps do not satisfy you entirely but which can, to a certain extent, preserve the interests of the republic. However, we remain vigilant on your behalf so that nothing comes to disturb the tranquility and peace and so that nothing comes to compromise the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Zaire.

We are not afraid, as some honorable deputies have insinuated. It is not out of fear. It is because we wanted to act, as I said, as mature and responsible statesmen who do not panic when faced with difficult situations, but who

analyze things calmly and who make decisions which, in the existing environment, can preserve the interests of the Republic of Zaire.

Mr. Speaker, I will stop here for the time being, and I remain entirely at the disposal of the honorable assembly so that I can give you, at the Foreign Affairs Commission or during the presentation of the budget of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, more details than I am giving now. Thank you. [applause]

#### **Mobutu Meets Military Delegates About Problems**

*AB2804194593 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1230 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Excerpt] After the two previous meetings last year between the head of state and military delegates from the country's various garrisons, a third meeting ended on 27 April at Gbadolite. The three-hour meeting focused on the problems facing the military and the ways and means to solve them. Kipolongo Mukambe was there:

[Begin Mukambe recording] There were 75 of them. They were delegates from the various garrisons sent by their comrades-in-arms to meet the commander in chief of the Zairian Armed Forces [FAZ] and the Civil Guard, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, in Gbadolite on 27 April. The 75 delegates included 43 from the Army, 11 from the National Gendarmerie, four from the Navy, two from the Air Force, 10 from the Civil Guard, and five trainers. The meeting took place at the Nzekele Hotel with the arrival at 1600 sharp of the head of state. The commander in chief of the FAZ and the Civil Guard, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, was welcomed by the chief of general staff, General Eluki Monga (Aundu), the [word indistinct] for peace, Kpama Bramuto Bama Kata, and an honor guard. Then, President Mobutu greeted the 75 military delegates individually before beginning the meeting. [end recording] [passage omitted]

## Eritrea

### Isayas Afewerki Receives Ethiopian Official

EA2904114093 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Mr. Isayas Afewerki, secretary general of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, met and held talks with Mr. Negaso Gidada, head of the Ethiopian delegation to the referendum, and Ethiopian information minister in his office on 27 April. During their meeting Mr. Negaso Gidada, who noted that the referendum conducted in Eritrea was free and fair, congratulated the Eritrean people and the Provisional Government of Eritrea. The secretary general, for his part, said that the outcome of the referendum would promote the newly established relationship between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

### Isayas Afewerki on Referendum, Foreign Relations

PM2804152693 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
26 Apr 93 p 5

[Interview with Isayas Afewerki, head of the Eritrean provisional government, by Yusuf Khazim in Asmera; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Khazim] Is your government worried about the tension in Addis Ababa over the referendum, especially in view of reports of the possibility of violent actions against Eritreans there after the announcement of the results of the referendum on Eritrea's independence?

[Afewerki] We are not worried. The Ethiopian people are civilized. I am not just being polite; it is the truth. However, some of the political groups harmed by the democratic atmosphere are trying to provoke tension by spreading reports about revenge against Eritreans in Ethiopia.

Some opposition newspapers in Addis Ababa are calling for the expulsion of Eritreans from Ethiopia and the obstruction of the referendum process. Those launching this campaign are individuals opposed to democracy, whose value they do not know. They exploit democracy in Ethiopia to express their opinions and spread enmity between Eritreans and Ethiopians. We are not worried, because those who are trying to spread an atmosphere of chaos and unrest are few. They have special reasons for obstructing the referendum. The Ethiopian people live in a civilized society and will not allow any violent acts or revenge against the Eritreans, despite what we hear.

[Khazim] How would you describe your relations with Israel?

[Afewerki] Good.

[Khazim] Do you believe that your relationship with Israel weakens your relationship with the Arabs?

[Afewerki] We explained long ago in the Eritrean People's Liberation Front program, even in the front's 1977 program, that there are no fixed positions toward any state with regard to foreign policy. It is our interests that decide how and when to choose our friends. We reemphasized this in our 1987 program.

Although Israel was a strong ally of (former Ethiopian President) Mengistu, its position toward Eritrea after liberation in 1991 was very positive. For our part, we wanted to establish good relations with Israel. We have made great efforts over the past two years to strengthen these relations. We will continue to strengthen the relationship. As far as we are concerned, that is natural. [passage omitted]

[Khazim] Do your relations with Israel include military cooperation?

[Afewerki] We do not need military cooperation with Israel, as we have sufficient forces and our army is considered to be one of the strongest armies in the region. We have sufficient arms and ammunitions in the depots. We do not need all of them. We are thinking about a way to get rid of some of them, end the state of mobilization in our army, and reduce its size by about half. We are not thinking about any military treaty with any state, including Israel. (The People's Front has announced that the number of its troops exceeds 100,000).

[Khazim] What about the sums of money you have received from Israel so far?

[Afewerki] We have received no financial help from Israel. Our relations are not gauged by the amount of money we receive from our friends.

[Khazim] The United States has decided to pursue a policy of isolating your ally, Sudan.

[Afewerki] I cannot speak for the U.S. Administration, but we know that it is concerned about fundamentalist activities in Sudan. We do not have sufficient information on these activities. I assume the United States has enough information to prompt it to pursue the policy of isolating Sudan.

[Khazim] How do you describe Eritrea's relations with Sudan in view of the U.S. position toward Khartoum?

[Afewerki] It is not like Sudan's relations with the United States. Eritrea and Sudan are neighbors and have common interests in regard to several matters. The mechanism of cooperation between the two countries has always been good, and we are trying to safeguard it.

As for what is being said about extremism and fundamentalism in Sudan, we do not have sufficient information on this subject. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of any state, including neighboring states.

[Khazim] What conditions will your government set after independence for forming parties under the pluralist system you intend to adopt?

[Afewerki] Over the past two years we have discussed drafting a parties bill. We agreed on the general outlines of this bill, most notably not to allow the formation of parties based on religion or tribalism. We will allow parties to be formed that represent an extension for foreign powers. Details of these basic outlines will be drawn up by a committee to be formed to draft the parties bill in the country.

In addition, we believe that political groups or associations that have clear social, economic, cultural, or political programs should operate freely in this country. [passage omitted]

#### Djibouti Government Recognizes State

*EA2804170593 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1500 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Excerpt] The Djibouti Government has officially recognized Eritrea as an independent and sovereign state. [passage omitted]

#### Yemen Grants Recognition

*EA2904114593 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] The Yemeni Government has officially recognized Eritrea as a sovereign and independent state. A message sent by the Yemeni Government's representative to Eritrea noted that the Yemeni Government was pleased that Eritrea was an independent state. It will be recalled that Italy, United States, Sudan, and Egypt have officially recognized Eritrea as a sovereign and independent state.

#### Ethiopia

##### Moa Anbesa Party Urges Ethiopian Unity

*AB2904115293 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 0400 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Moa Anbesa [Lion of Judah, the Monarchist Party], has noted that the time for the reunion of the Eritrean people with the rest of Ethiopia, based on equality, will not be far off, as it had united before by chanting Ethiopia or death. In a news conference he gave to the ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY, Mr. Abera Moltote, Moa Anbesa's head of propaganda and social services, said that Moa Anbesa's wish is not only for the unity of the Ethiopian people, but

also for all East African countries and the world. He went on to say that everybody should strive to ensure that we all live together in harmony.

#### Tanzania

##### Parliament Approves Private Radio, Television

*EA2704105093 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0400 GMT 25 Apr 93*

[Text] Tanzania National Assembly has endorsed a bill in Dodoma, central Tanzania, allowing private radio and television to conduct broadcasting business in the country. Under the bill, a broadcasting service commission to be created will be responsible for issuing licenses to private investors in the broadcasting sector. The bill stressed that investors must be Tanzanian nationals.

Meanwhile, Tanzania's minister for information and broadcasting, William Shija, told Parliament that the government will take all measures available to improve the facilities of the state radio to enhance the quality of its programs and reception in various parts of the country.

#### Uganda

##### Over 100 Bodies Found at Remote Mortuary

*AB2804205193 Paris AFP in English 1916 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Kampala, April 28 (AFP)—Some 104 decomposing bodies have been found dumped outside a dilapidated mortuary in the rebel-infested northern Ugandan town of Lira, the official NEW VISION newspaper reported here on Tuesday [27 April].

The paper said the bodies were found at the site of the Lira municipal mortuary, some 300 kilometres (125 miles) north of the Ugandan capital, but did not say when or why the bodies were dumped outside the little-used mortuary.

The government of President Yoweri Museveni has been fighting various rebel groups opposed to his government in north and northeastern Uganda since 1987, and it is thought the corpses could be those of suspected rebels killed in operations mounted by the National Resistance Army (NRA).

"It was a gruesome sight of a heap of muddled and decomposing bodies at the entrance and the bush surrounding the mortuary, with the limbs and trunks indicating the bodies were those of adults," the paper said.

## De Klerk Answers Questions in Parliament

### Comments on Multiparty Talks

*MB2804174993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1717  
GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Parliament April 28 SAPA—The government would seriously consider sensible initiatives for progress in negotiations if it appeared that the multi-party talks were close to a dead end at the end of May, the state president, Mr F W de Klerk, said on Wednesday. Speaking in state president's question time, he said that the government, however, was not thinking of "absolutely unilateral action", and that there had never been any intention of setting up a specific six week deadline for progress. He also said that there were no grounds for the recent Inkatha [IFP] attack on the government for its alleged role in violence in Natal.

Earlier Mr Hennie Bester (DP [Democratic Party] Green Point) had asked whether the government would consider steps to set up an interim multiparty executive authority if the talks did not achieve specific goals. Mr de Klerk said this would depend greatly on the precise progress made in the next five weeks.

"We never thought that we should be rigorously bound specifically to six weeks," he said. "If at the end of six weeks one is on the edge of a breakthrough, one would want to push on."

However, if it appeared that the talks were near a dead end at the end of May and early in June, the government would give very serious consideration to sensible initiatives that could be taken to allow progress to continue.

"We are not considering absolutely unilateral action," he said. "There is already a large degree of consensus which has crystallized out."

The government believed a transitional executive council could be separated from the rest of the process in the sense that if other issues had not been finalised, an interim transitional council could be set up in terms of legislation.

Asked by Mr Bester how long he was prepared to allow Inkatha and parties like it to keep the country captive in a "stranglehold of uncertainty and violence", Mr de Klerk said Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha were not his exclusive responsibility. It was as much the responsibility of every party at the talks to engage in dialogue with parties that differed from them. He was convinced that with open discussion and bona-fide negotiations, major differences with the IFP could be bridged. The IFP was a major role player, and it was a hindrance and caused great unhappiness when the IFP made aggressive attacks on the government.

There were no grounds for the recent attack with regard to violence in Natal. "We must succeed in taking part in negotiations positively and constructively, without their being hindered by suspicion," he said.

Mr de Klerk also said it need not take as long as a year to negotiate a new constitution. It was fundamentally important that any new constitution be reached through fundamental negotiation, not by storm.

### Foresees Prosecution for Inflammatory Remarks

*MB2804154693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1530  
GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Parliament April 28 SAPA—Consequent to investigations now being undertaken by the police it was possible that Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Peter Makoba and Mr Tony Yengeni could be prosecuted for their inflammatory utterances, the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said on Wednesday.

Speaking in state president's question time, he said some of the recent statements by the three ANC [African National Congress] figures could amount to a crime in terms of existing legislation.

All three were the subject of a police investigation being carried out in close co-operation with the attorney general.

A similar investigation was being carried out into statements by AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche, and into whether he broke the law by displaying a weapon in public.

Mr de Klerk said all political spokesmen in SA should refrain from making inflammatory statements. The situation in the country was such that an irresponsible word could lead to violence.

### Defends Presidential Tax Exemption

*MB2804175193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1715  
GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Parliament April 28 SAPA—The state president, Mr F W de Klerk, pays tax on all his private income, he said on Wednesday. Speaking in state president's question time on Wednesday, he said any attempt to remove the traditional tax exemption would also affect the state president in a new dispensation.

Mr Desmond Lockette (LP [Labor Party] northern Cape) had asked whether Mr de Klerk thought it fair that in these difficult economic times, people were being forced to pay higher taxes while he, at the head of a corrupt and unfeeling government, refused to pay a cent in tax on his "royal" income of R[Rand]21,090 a month.

Mr de Klerk said his salary was in the hands of Parliament.

"If they feel I am getting too much they are welcome to reduce it," he said.

If Parliament decided he should pay tax, he would expect his salary to be raised by a corresponding amount so that he would not be out of pocket, in the same way that he would not like to see MPs out of pocket in a similar situation.

It would be six of one and half a dozen of the other, he said.

**De Klerk: Mass Action in Order If Responsible**  
**MB2904083693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0246**  
**GMT 29 Apr 93**

[Text] Cape Town April 28 SAPA—A programme of rolling mass action was in order as long as it was conducted with great responsibility, the state president, Mr F. W. de Klerk, said on Wednesday [28 April].

Addressing a news conference after hour-long talks with visiting Norwegian Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Johan Jorgen Holst, at Tuynhuys, he said the National Party would qualify to sit in the same government with the president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr Nelson Mandela, and other parties.

Mr de Klerk said it was for the new structures in the transitional executive council to set an election date.

If good progress was made, elections could take place by the end of the year.

The talks with Mr Holst had been incisive, constructive, and in-depth about the situation, the problems of violence and the international community's role in South Africa.

Mr Holst said he had obtained a commitment from the South African Government that there would be a fully democratic solution.

The talks had been constructive and he left with great hope.

**Norwegian Minister Assures Continued Aid to ANC**

**MB2804210893 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 28 Apr 93**

[Text] Norwegian Foreign Minister Mr. Johan Jorgen Holst says his country's aid program to the African National Congress [ANC] and other organizations remains unchanged. Speaking shortly before a meeting with State President F. W. de Klerk in Cape Town, Mr. Holst said Norway has no intention of cutting its financial assistance. Charl Pauw and Ronel van Zyl have the details:

[Begin recording] [Pauw] Mr. Jurgen Holst is the first member of the Norwegian cabinet to visit South Africa since relations between the two countries were normalized. At a news conference in Cape Town today he confirmed that his government was not planning to suspend aid valued at 50 million rands to South Africa. Of this amount, 10 million rands had already been made available to the ANC. The visiting minister explained that it was not his country's policy to make direct contributions to political parties, but added that his government will not abandon its friends when the finishing line was in sight.

[Holst, in English] ...understands that time is running out, and that one has to find some way very soon to break the logjam in the negotiations.

[Pauw] At the news conference it was also announced that Norway had contributed 2 million rands for the establishment of an independent institute to monitor unrest in South Africa. This information service would form part of the Goldstone Commission. Existing legislation provides for this. Justice Richard Goldstone said in his reaction this service would be of great value to the commission.

[Van Zyl] This evening the Norwegian delegation paid a courtesy call on State President F. W. de Klerk at Tuynhuys. Mr. de Klerk briefed the delegation on the latest political developments in South Africa, as well as progress made in the multiparty negotiations process. In response, Mr. Holst expressed his optimism about a new democratic South Africa.

[Holst, in English] We know all the difficulties, but if there is a will, there is a way, and I'm sure that there is a will. I have seen that from all the parties that I talked to during my visit, so I leave South Africa in great hopes for the future. [end recording]

**Mandela Considers Disciplining Mokaba**

**MB2904062693 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 29 Apr 93**

[Text] The president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, says disciplinary steps are being considered against the organization's youth leader, Mr. Peter Mokaba, for his use of the slogan: Kill the Boer; kill the farmer.

According to a report in the latest issue of the NG [Dutch Reformed] Church's weekly journal DIE KERKBODE [THE MESSENGER], Mr. Mandela gave this assurance to church leaders at a meeting on Monday [26 April]. The meeting took place at Mr. Mandela's request. DIE KERKBODE said Mr. Mandela had unequivocally disassociated himself from Mr. Mokaba's remarks.

**Mandela Discusses Right-Wing, White Resistance**

**MB2804172593 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 28 Apr 93**

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There is a lot of gloom and despondency over the resumption of the multiparty Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] talks in South Africa on Monday [26 April]. They have been overshadowed by the aftermath of the murder of Communist Party leader Chris Hani, the arrest of white extremists and fear of more assassinations, and the black radical backlash. Then, on the first day of the resumed talks, Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party put the cat among the pigeons by lashing out over violence, putting the blame on the ANC [African National Congress].

In Johannesburg, Tom Carver asked ANC President Nelson Mandela if he felt that augured badly for the negotiations.

[Begin recording] [Mandela] Well, that is an oversimplification of the matter. We didn't concentrate very much on the conduct or statements of any political party. We are concentrating on the way forward. We are not prepared to indulge in exchanges with any other political party. Our approach is a positive and constructive one.

[Carver] But is it now a case of the ANC and the government persuading Inkatha and trying to keep the Inkatha Freedom Party on site and persuading them of the need for talks and an urgent election?

[Mandela] As far as the ANC is concerned we are not concentrating on any single political party. We are trying to mobilize all political parties in this country without exception to commit themselves to the peace process. We are convinced that we have got a very strong, powerful and reasonable case.

[Carver] You have said that the right wing, in your opinion constitutes the greatest threat to peace in this country. How well organized do you believe they are?

[Mandela] They are well organized because you find them also in state agencies like the Civil Service, like the state security forces. They are entrenched in government structures and it is not easy to dismantle such an organization.

[Carver] But it seems very clear that there is always going to be a great portion of the white population in this country who are never, whatever happens, going to be willing to live in a multiracial South Africa. What do you do about those people?

[Mandela] Well, one of the reasons why we are advocating a government of national unity is that we anticipate the problems that are likely to arise when a democratic government is in power. We will then be able to have a government which has got a broad base and which is well suited to address the questions of the nation that are risen.

[Carver] You are now 74, Mr. Mandela. You have worked all your life for a dream of a multiracial, democratic South Africa. Do you ever worry that you might not live long enough to realize that dream?

[Mandela] People come and go. I have come. I will go when my time comes. The point is the process has now been launched to bring about democracy in this country and I think that that process has gone so far that we can confidently say it is irreversible. I will sleep permanently when my day comes, but I will do so in peace because I will know that the ideas for which many South Africans, many men and women, have given their lives will triumph in a not distant future. [end recording]

**ANC, Allies Consider Program of Action**  
MB2904084293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2215  
GMT 28 Apr 93

[Press statement issued by the African National Congress/Congress of South African Trade Unions/South African Communist Party Alliance on SAPA PR Wire Service 28 April]

[Text] A summit of the tripartite alliance was held yesterday to assess the current crisis in our country and to discuss the way forward. In our assessment that a national crisis had arisen since the assassination of Cde Chris Hani, and that decisive action was needed to propel the country away from the abyss, and towards an urgent political settlement.

The summit reaffirmed the view that finality had to be reached on a date for election to a constituent assembly, the setting up of the TEC [transitional executive council], and joint, far-reaching control of the security forces, by the end of May. The summit was of the view that these objectives were realistic, achievable, and long overdue, and that if the government acted irresponsibly and continued to foot-drag beyond May, a complete review of the negotiations process would have to take place. The government will not be allowed to hide behind spoiling tactics of the Cosag [Concerned South Africans Group] forces.

Further, it was agreed that if the May deadline was not met, a programme of unprecedented mass action would be embarked on. Proposals for this action were discussed, including a possible boycott of taxes and national industrial action. These proposals have been referred to the constitutional structures of the alliance, and will be finalised at an alliance strategising meeting scheduled to take place before the end of May.

The first phase of our programme of action has already begun to unfold, with regional actions being launched in many parts of the country. These actions include regional and local consumer boycotts, marches, demonstrations, occupations, etc. These actions are aimed both at breaking the political deadlock on the central political issues outlined above, as well as addressing the obstacles to free political activity existing in various parts of the country. Mass action is being embarked on wherever repressive means are being used to restrict our peoples right to organise and assemble, including in the bantustans, rural towns and mines.

Right wing forces have been given license to terrorise our people, particularly through the conspicuous failure of De Klerk and Kriel to act against them. The far-right will be made a special target of regional mass action, including consumer boycotts, as well as international campaigns against those supporting them abroad. A focus will also be sharpened on SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] to ensure that their biased reporting, particularly on TV1, comes to an end.

May Day this year will launch these regional programmes of action throughout the country. Speakers from the alliance will address people in over seventy (70) rallies throughout the country

The summit recognised that the alliance programme does not only revolve around rolling mass action, but extended to galvanising our people around a programme of reconstruction and development. Discussions are beginning to take place to involve ordinary people in formulating the content of the programme, as well as initiating campaigns

to ensure that we pave the way for the delivery of jobs, houses, education and health to all South Africans.

Discussions were also held on proposals for the development of peace brigades, along the lines proposed by Cde Chris Hani, and a discussion document on this is being finalised.

The alliance summit also resolved to ensure that the present militant mood of our people is channelled into building mass organisation, and preparing for a decisive ANC [African National Congress] victory in the forthcoming elections.

The tripartite alliance is calling on all South Africans committed to peace and democracy, to rally behind the democratic forces in this critical period facing our country, and to isolate those attempting to drive us back into the dark ages. The country is facing a stark choice between deadlock leading to collapse of the process, and rapid movement towards democracy. For the sake of all our futures, we must secure the latter course.

### **Black Groups Threaten To Halt White Education**

*MB2804134493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1130  
GMT 28 Apr 93*

[By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Johannesburg April 28 SAPA—The southern Transvaal branches of three black education organisations say they will bring white education to a halt next month if the government does not agree to a national education forum. National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) regional General Secretary Amon Msane told a press conference in Johannesburg on Tuesday [27 April] the NECC was planning a total disruption of education in all institutions "that support the status quo". NECC members, together with members of the SA Students Congress (Sasco) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) would invade classrooms and offices. "We will sit on the floors... Wherever there is place. We will fill the room..., white education will be brought to a halt," he said.

Mr Msane, flanked by spokesmen for Sasco and Cosas, evaded several pointed questions about violent confrontation with white students and staff. The occupation would be peaceful, he said. "There will be some violation of the rights of others, but we have no alternative."

The strategy was, by disrupting white schools, to draw attention to the chaotic situation in black schools. It was also to force the government to agree to a national education forum.

Mr Msane said the action would start on May 3 with consultation with white communities and would culminate on May 26 with the occupation of white schools, universities and education offices. It was intended to fit in with the broader campaign of mass action planned by the African National Congress tripartite alliance.

Asked if the NECC's plan was not simply politicking at the expense of probable further violence, Mr Msane said: "It has nothing to do with politics." The NECC was open to any alternative idea on how to force the government to agree to the forum, but this would have to materialise before May 26.

The national education forum is seen by the NECC, the ANC and others as a mechanism to prevent unilateral government decisions on the transformation of South Africa's racial education system. They have charged that the government has ignored the rich pool of skills and opinion that lies outside its ranks.

### **NPC Concerned About Threats**

*MB2804183393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1723  
GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Johannesburg April 28 SAPA—The National Peace Committee [NPC] on Wednesday expressed concern that the planned occupation of white schools, or the threat of occupation, could lead to unnecessary tension and even violence.

NPC Chairman John Hall was reacting in a statement in Johannesburg to an earlier National Education Co-ordinating Committee [NECC] announcement of plans to occupy white schools.

"It is common cause that the future of education in South Africa must be debated by all interested parties and it is my understanding that broad and inclusive consultation is very much part of the plan of government. The method of achieving consultation lends itself to the formation of a national education forum," Mr Hall said.

The government was urgently trying to get consultations with all interested parties under way.

"As clarification of (Education Co-ordination) Minister (Piet) Marais' recent statement in Parliament, it is my understanding that extra-parliamentary organisations will participate in these expert bodies along with other role players with the necessary expertise and involvement in education," Mr Hall said.

The NPC hoped the NECC would find these structures helpful in achieving their objectives without having to resort to threats of occupying white schools.

"In the light of the current volatile situation in the country the NPC has reached agreement with the government that meetings will be held as a matter of urgency," Mr Hall said.

In Johannesburg on Wednesday the southern Transvaal branches of three black education organisations said they would bring white education to a halt in May if the government did not agree to a national education forum. NECC Regional General Secretary Amon Msane said his organisation was planning to completely disrupt education in all institutions "that support the status quo".

Mr Msane, flanked by spokesmen for the South African Students Congress and the Congress of South African

Students, evaded several pointed questions about violent confrontation with white pupils and staff. The occupation would be peaceful, he maintained.

**Boers Vow To 'Protect Their Children'**

*MB2904083393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0523  
GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] Pretoria April 29 SAPA—Occupying white schools will cause a civil war, the right wing Boere Weerstands Beweging [Boer Resistance Movement] (BWB) warned on Thursday morning.

Reacting to the National Education Co-ordinating Committee's [NECC] plans to bring white education to a halt by embarking on sit-ins, BWB Leader Andrew Ford said the "Boers" would protect their children "to the death" (tot die dood).

"The Boers will not look on as our children's education is destroyed by blacks and communists," he said in a statement issued at Rustenberg, west of Pretoria.

The NECC southern Transvaal region is demanding the government agrees to a national education forum.

**Cosag Voices Concern Over Talks Exclusion Threat**

*MB2904084893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2207  
GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Statement issued by the Information Service of Bophuthatswana on SAPA PR Wire Service]

[Text] The Concerned Southern African Group (Cosag) said in Mmabatho today that it was perturbed by threats to exclude those allegedly "retarding the negotiation process" from the multi-party talks.

Speaking after a meeting of the Cosag group in Mmabatho today, Bophuthatswana's minister of state affairs, Mr Rowan Cronje, said: We are deeply concerned about the event at the World Trade Centre on Monday [26 April]. "We feel democracy and negotiations are being treated as mere words and not really believed in. We are perturbed by statements issued by the SA Government and the ANC [African National Congress] that those allegedly 'retarding the process will not be tolerated'. We ask, who will decide who should go and who will stay?

"Cosag is made up of 19 parties. We may not be the biggest players in the opinion of some, but collectively, we represent millions of people. Nobody should underestimate our anger just because we do not throw stones. We say, do not ruin the process. We have the chance to get it right. Let's get it right," Mr Cronje said.

Chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP], Dr Frank Mdlalose, who was also at the meeting, commented that the South African Government and ANC had insulted the IFP by labelling them as spoilers, because they insisted that some issues be resolved before elections. "During the past

weekend, I personally witnessed 11 burning houses. I would be a foolish man not to insist that the issue of violence be sorted out before elections," he said.

Dr Mdlalose added that the IFP had proof that Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] was involved in instigating the violence in Natal. He said Cosag would not be pressurised into any decision, but neither would it slow down reform in the country.

"We can have elections by the middle of next year. But first we must decide on the type of state, the constitution, and the issue of violence. Then we present our decisions to the people, and if they approve, we vote in a new government. In this way we can avoid all the interim measures and five year transitional rule proposed by the SA Government and ANC," Dr Mdlalose said.

Mr Tom Langley of the Conservative Party [CP] said the CP could not be accused of spoiling tactics. "We are not there just to rubber stamp decisions. A lot of energy went into getting all the players to the negotiation process and we want to participate," he said.

**ANC Decries False Assassination Claims**

*MB2904092993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0843  
GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] Johannesburg April 29 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] on Thursday expressed concern at a spate of messages it said was being distributed claiming that senior ANC leaders had been assassinated.

It said in a statement the most recent message was received on Thursday morning via Alphapage and stated that ANC switchboard operator Sydney Mafumadi had been shot dead.

"This is a clear attempt to create a psychosis of fear, and terrorise ANC leaders, their families and the ANC in general," the ANC statement said.

It said the ANC saw these messages "in a very serious light" especially in view of the recent assassination of South African Communist Party General Secretary Chris Hani, and called on members of the public who could provide information about the disinformation campaign to come forward.

"We once again also call on the South African Police to take the necessary firm and decisive action against rightwingers who have issued death threats against members of the ANC.

"South Africa cannot afford that the democratisation process in our country be kept to ransom by right-wing thuggery," the statement said.

**Seven Held for Questioning in Sebokeng Killings**

*MB2804152993 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Seven people have been detained for questioning in connection with the Sebokeng massacre on the 18th of this month in which 21 people were killed.

Brigadier Floris Mostert said the breakthrough followed valuable information that was followed up by the investigating team. He said the suspects were not local residents, and that more arrests were possible.

**5,000 Attend Funeral of 12 Sebokeng Victims**

*MB2804135593 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1300 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] About 5,000 people have packed a Sebokeng stadium to attend the funeral of 12 of the victims gunned down in the township 9 days ago. At least 19 people were killed when gunmen went on a shooting spree in the Vaal Triangle town.

At today's memorial service ANC [African National Congress] executive member Ronnie Kasrils said: We are angry people; the people cannot tolerate death upon death and massacre upon massacre. Another executive member, Terror Lekota, urged discipline and warned the crowd against retribution. Kasrils also accused security forces of being linked to the Sebokeng attackers.

The situation in the township is described as tense but quiet. However, a Commonwealth peace monitor says he has seen angry youths stoning a police armored vehicle on the way into the township.

**Rights Group Reports 45 Deaths for 21-27 April**

*MB2904083593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0401 GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] Johannesburg April 29 SAPA—Forty-five deaths and at least 64 injuries were recorded between April 21 and 27, the Human Rights Commission [HRC] announced in its weekly repression report on Wednesday.

The figures were substantially lower than last week's 72 dead and 613 injured, the commission said.

Most of the deaths in the past week were in Natal where 30 people lost their lives, while five died in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region.

Several attacks on security forces were reported throughout the country with Natal again heading the list with the deaths of a police reservist and a retired police captain.

**Farmers Plan Resistance to ANC Attacks**

*MB2804145393 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans 23 Apr 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Farmers Ready for ANC Murder Threat"]

[Text] Farmers throughout South Africa are, right across party political lines, well organized and prepared to withstand any orchestrated ANC [African National Congress] murder attacks on the white farming community.

The Farmers Crisis Action [FCA], which organized the successful tractor siege in Pretoria, warned the ANC in a press statement that the ANC's threat of "kill the Boer, kill the farmer", will be met with all means at the farmer's disposal. FCA was reacting to the television statement by ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba on 17 April, and has called on all farmers countrywide to be in a state of readiness to attend to this threat.

PATRIOT has been informed that farmer security committees in all four provinces have been activated, that there is very close contact and cooperation among them to resist any attacks, from whatever source, against the farming community.

**Article Profiles New SACP General Secretary**

*MB2804150993 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Apr 93 p 22*

[Article by Patrick Laurence: "Content To Wait for Day He Knows Will Come"]

[Text] Charles Nqakula, the new general secretary of the South African Communist Party [SACP], differs in many ways from his murdered predecessor, Chris Hani. Where Hani was straight-talking, an edge of political combative-ness frequently in his voice, Nqakula is softly-spoken and almost genteel in his politeness. But the two men have much in common: they were born into poor families in the eastern Cape—Hani's father was a migrant worker and Nqakula's a farm labourer—looking at the world through the questioning eyes of boys bestowed by nature with intelligence, and came to believe that the answer to injustice lay in communism.

Nqakula, now 50, his beard beginning to be flecked with grey, recalls: "My parents were completely illiterate. My father worked as a labourer ... my mother was a washer-woman, earning a pound a month."

The phone on his desk in the SACP head office rings, a reminder that reminiscing is a luxury in these busy days.

"We were 10 children. I am number 9. My older brothers and sisters did not go to school. Only my younger brother and myself had the opportunity to go to school. It was touch and go because we were very, very poor."

Nqakula speaks lovingly of his first headmaster at St James' Primary School in Cradock, the Rev James Arthur

Calata, a former general secretary of the ANC. "It meant I came under political influence at a very early age. The Anglican Church at the time, under Rev Calata, was almost like a branch of the ANC. We got involved in the ANC...I was about 10 at the time."

An embryonic smile on his face, Nqakula, who matriculated at Lovedale after winning a bursary to study there, recounts how as a high school graduate he worked at a local garage as a repairer of punctures and a petrol attendant, later as a waiter and a wine steward.

After that, Nqakula says, came his spell as a journalist, starting as a freelance columnist on the MIDLAND NEWS in Cradock, and then as a reporter for IMVO ZABANTSUNDU and the DAILY DISPATCH: while working for the DISPATCH in the mid and later 1970s he was based at King William's Town and came into contact with Steve Biko, the magnetic founder of the Black Consciousness Movement.

The image of Biko is still vivid for Nqakula, more than 15 years after Biko's death in detention: like many people, he was impressed by Biko, seeing him as a seminal political influence at the time. He denies, however, that he ever abandoned ANC ideology for black consciousness.

"Black consciousness at that point was not in contradiction to what the ANC stood for. To me it meant that here was an area opening up which the ANC ought to be involved in exploiting, an area which was bringing to the fore very important leadership and activities."

Nqakula looks discreetly at his watch. There is a need to hurry, to move on to the SACP today. The pace of the interview picks up.

He tells how a banning order cut short his work as a journalist; how, after Ciskei became a nominally independent state in 1981, he was declared a prohibited immigrant in South Africa, the land of his birth; how, in 1984, he was ordered by the underground to leave South Africa; how he received military training in Angola and the Soviet Union; how he was deported from Lesotho in 1986; and how after further training in the German Democratic Republic, he returned to South Africa to assist in a programme of bringing senior ANC leaders back into SA.

He cannot recall a single episode or event which led him to take the extra step and join the SACP; it was a "logical graduation", facilitated by the close ties between the ANC and the SACP but he formally joined "the party" shortly after he arrived in Lesotho in exile.

He is not disturbed by the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, seeing, he insists, hope amid the rubble of communist icons and statues. "These days we are not talking about collapse. We are talking about resurgence. Communist parties in a number of these countries are beginning to resurface."

Nqakula concedes, however, that the fall of communist regimes forced the SACP to reassess its role and approach. His tone remains confident. "I am sure we drew the

appropriate lessons, if we have to judge by the popularity of the party in South Africa and its growth. We have around 50,000 members now ... We will publish these figures for the press. We are not like those political organisations which say figures do not matter."

The rapid growth of the SACP since its re-launch as a legal party has surprised even its leaders, causing the SACP to make re-appraisals of its role in nonracial elections, due by April next year, a top item on the agenda of a major "strategy conference" on May 21.

A recent statement by ANC President Nelson Mandela that the SACP will only constitute a small component on the ANC list of candidates in the pending elections seems not to perturb Nqakula. "The people on the ground are going to decide who is put on the list. It is going to be a democratic process ... It should not be a matter of us saying: 'We want so many communists on the list.'"

Nqakula does not say so directly but his manner suggests that he is confident that the SACP will be well represented on the ANC list and that its days, far from being numbered, are yet to come.

#### Commission To Look at Potential for Election Violence

MB2804151593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1354  
GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Cape Town April 28 SAPA—All South Africans who wanted peace should ensure that the first non-racial election was legitimate, the chairman of the Goldstone Commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said on Wednesday.

"If the first election is not legitimate, we're in big trouble. Even if there is violence and intimidation, the level should be such that it does not destroy the election's legitimacy," he said in an address to the Cape Town Press Club.

The commission was going to set up an inquiry into the potential for public violence and intimidation in a national election and would be following the same procedure as its investigation in marches and public gatherings.

It would be an important exercise in democracy and discipline, as submissions would be called for in which members of the public could express opinions on subjects including how meetings should be held and who should do the policing. It was hoped submissions would also be made by political parties, the SAP [South African Police], the Departments of Justice and Home Affairs and international bodies in South Africa.

"We have asked them to say what they see as their role in the election and what the rules and regulations should be. The proposed electoral commission can then accept or reject these suggestions. It seems we have an important advantage in that we are able to cause the majority of players to debate the matter in public."

The input would then be examined by a panel of experts. "We can perform an important service to the electoral commission if we can make recommendations which are the result of public debate and consultation."

He said people tended to honour agreements more readily when the agreements were reached after democratic consultation as had happened in the many peaceful marches and demonstrations that were held after the death of Mr Chris Hani.

He had not received any requests for the commission to become permanent, even after the installation of a new government. "The sooner there is no longer a need for the commission the better. Many of the things we're doing is a reflection of the uncertainties of the transition process."

### **Manpower Commission Issues Report on 1992**

*MB2804200193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1810 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Parliament April 28 SAPA—Heightened strike action had cost the economy 1.9 million mandays in 1992—a year marked by acute unemployment and frustration in the quest for labour policy consensus, according to the National Manpower Commission's [NMC] 1992 report. Writing in the report tabled on Wednesday, newly-appointed NMC Chairman Dr Frans Barker said the GDP [gross domestic product] had dropped by about 1.7 percent in the preceding year, shedding about 250,000 job opportunities. Retrenchments had caused considerable workplace tensions, with unemployment causing a sharp increase in acute poverty.

The negative economic situation had seen wage increases averaging between 12 and 13 percent against an inflation rate of 15.1 percent in the first nine months of 1992. Real wages had decreased, despite a one percent increase in productivity—mainly attributed to retrenchments and better use of remaining staff.

Difficult economic circumstances were one of the main causes of violence and crime, aggravated by the uncertainty associated with political transition. Most interest groups had become aware that a solution lay deeper than just a political settlement, and that structural adjustment was needed.

The tripartite National Economic Forum [NEF] had been set up in 1992. One of its first papers would probably deal with the government's structural adjustment policy.

The NMC's search for consensus on labour policy had been marked by great frustration. Its restructuring had been delayed, among others, because of COSATU's [Congress of South African Trade Unions] temporary withdrawal from the advisory body, the succession of various ministers of manpower, and the various parties' difficulty in striking consensus on the issue of restructuring.

Agreement had, however, been reached leading to a more transparent NMC process, with the NMC emphasising

that the minister of manpower should consider its recommendations in an appropriately serious light.

Important labour policy initiatives had included the November 6 agreement between the minister of manpower and COSATU on a timetable for extending labour laws to agriculture, and that between the government and the SA Agricultural Union. Draft legislation would also be drawn up that extended the basic conditions of employment and labour relations acts to domestic workers.

The year had also been marked by a visit from an international labour organisation fact-finding mission, which drafted certain recommendations on key labour issues.

Increasing strike action lost the economy 1.9 million mandays in 1992, against 1.2 million in 1991. A strike in the engineering industry, halted by a landmark court order on ballot procedures, had been particularly extensive. A protracted strike in provincial health services and a countrywide stayaway on August 3 and 4 against, among others, VAT, had also pushed up manday losses. Attempts by COSATU, Nactu [National Council of Trade Unions] and SACCOLA [South African Consultative Committee on Labor Affairs] to stave off the stayaway had encouragingly proved that unions and employers were prepared to negotiate sensitive matters, despite failure to reach agreement.

Major challenges included overcoming the country's economic problems and preventing political violence from spilling into the workplace. The NEF would hopefully take up the economic questions. Labour policy, when adjusted, had to be less rigid to bring about a more flexible labour market. The application of labour laws to farm and domestic workers posed extraordinary challenges to the department of manpower. Public sector labour legislation also needed attention.

Conservative resistance to change had to be dealt with sympathetically, but chances were good that negotiations could lead to agreements on affirmative action. Training demands by unions had to be met sympathetically by employers in order to prepare for a new upswing in the economy. Past indications had shown that employers had not contributed adequately to training the labour force, and unions would increasingly focus on training and developing human resources.

Demands for centralised negotiation would continue, despite trends towards decentralised bargaining in other parts of the world. Employers would have to consider these demands against the need for greater international competitiveness.

Wages ought to be linked to productivity, implying good management techniques and proper motivation of workers. Trade unions and individual employees would have to realise more that they were co-responsible for the country's economy. Employers, in turn, had to give more attention to letting people feel that they were co-owners of the economy.

**Bank Chief Warns of Pressure on Interest Rates**

*MB2804145493 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1400 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] The higher gold price and resumed constitutional negotiations occurred just in time to prevent an increase in interest rates in the country.

President of the Reserve Bank Dr. Chris Stals told our economic staff that South Africa had been under tremendous external and internal pressure over the past few months and the slump in foreign reserves, a weaker Rand, an unstable political climate, and the drought had placed pressure on the balance of payments.

Dr. Stals warned that the Reserve Bank could still be under pressure to increase interest rates if the political situation worsened and the gold price dropped.

**29 Apr Review of Press Editorials, Commentaries**

*MB2904140993*

[Editorial Report]

**THE CITIZEN**

**Warning Against 'Quick-Fix' for Country**—“The assumption that the government and the ANC [African National Congress] will determine what is decided in the next six weeks is not very realistic,” according to the page-6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 28 April, which notes that there are other parties that do not want a “quick-fix solution....A settlement that ignores Cosag [Concerned South Africans Group] and others who do not go along with the government and the ANC will be disastrous, since it could set off greater violence, even civil war. Thus, instead of a quick fix, we would rather see more time devoted to achieving reasonable consensus, taking into account the aspirations of all major parties, groups and organisations.”

**THE STAR**

**Potential for U.S. Investment Viewed**—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 29 April in a page-24 editorial states: “Life was a lot easier before man learnt about catch-22 situations. This point is illustrated by the admonition from U.S. Ambassador Princeton Lyman that unless local businessmen take risks to make the new South Africa succeed, foreign investors will not plough money into this country.” Ambassador Lyman also talked about “the fact that the U.S. government was looking at that country’s pension and endowment funds—many of them previously in the forefront of disinvestment—to provide funding for housing and other projects in South Africa. Then, Mr Justice Goldstone returned from a private visit to the

United States and also spoke about a significant change in attitude. Offers of support had been received in meetings at the United Nations, State Department, World Bank and with U.S. legislators. He stressed that these were non-partisan and could materialise as soon as there was a transitional executive council in place, and even more so once a government of national unity took control.” THE STAR believes that is “reason enough for South African businessmen to demonstrate the bullishness called for by Washington’s man in Pretoria.”

Criticism of Derby-Lewis’s Indefinite Detention—A second editorial on the same page says it is “disturbing that police, who originally detained Derby-Lewis under the Criminal Procedure Act before reclassifying him as a detainee under the Internal Security Act, are now seeking to extend his detention for a further 10 days....South Africa, with its terrifying record under apartheid of indefinite detention and of the deaths of scores of detainees, should be on its guard against dangerous new precedents. Loss of Derby-Lewis’s rights today may mean loss of John Citizen’s tomorrow.”

**BUSINESS DAY**

**Undue Optimism About Homelands Reincorporation**—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 29 April in a page-12 editorial believes President de Klerk was “unduly optimistic” about the speedy reincorporation of the independent homelands. Bophuthatswana’s President Mangope “says there is no question whatsoever of Bophuthatswana giving up its independence....Transkei, on the other hand, seems determined to use its independence as a bargaining chip not only with government but also with the ANC. Moreover, its military ruler, Bantu Holomisa, has grown accustomed to power and seems to have enjoyed the sallies with government over APLA [Azanian People’s Liberation Army] and Military Intelligence’s dirty tricks.” Holomisa has “so far played his cards shrewdly” in getting himself into the ANC’s camp. “He will not easily be discarded.” How the issue of homeland reincorporation is resolved will have an effect on South Africa’s eventual form of government, the paper argues. “As with so many problems, solutions may lie with regionalism.”

**SOWETAN**

**Bophuthatswana ‘Posturing’ on Reincorporation**—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 29 April in a page-10 editorial describes Bophuthatswana’s “no reincorporation” stand as “posturing—timed to have an impact on the new round of negotiations that are underway....Apart from its lack of territorial integrity, Bophuthatswana will collapse like a house of cards should a future South African Government withdraw its financial aid or cut off the Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission] power grid.”

**Angola****Negotiators Make Progress in Abidjan Peace Talks**

*MB2804211793 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] The government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] seem to be close to a cease-fire, judging from reports reaching us from Abidjan.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Abidjan-based journalists believe the government-UNITA talks are now heading toward a new direction. This morning, the two delegations held a plenary session. Joao Lins de Albuquerque, spokesman for Ms. Margaret Anstee, gives an account of the proceedings.

[Albuquerque] At this morning's plenary session, which has just ended, the secretary general's representative once again appealed to the sides to make a final decision so that she may report to UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus-Ghali about the outcome of the talks. Based on her report, the UN secretary general will be able to report the matter to the Security Council. So, it is necessary to reach an agreement on the protocol being discussed so that the secretary general may make his recommendations to the Security Council. The two sides seem keen on attending to the appeal made by Dr. Butrus-Ghali's representative.

At today's plenary session, the two delegations discussed at length a fundamental document, namely a proposal on the UN mandate in Angola, which is based on the draft proposal annexed to Security Council document S/25140 of 21 January 1993. This discussion fits within the framework of procedures that have been agreed by UNITA and the government and which are aimed at reconciling the terminology used in the document.

The two delegations feel that among the points of the document that need to be reconciled are the question of the second round of presidential elections, UNITA's stand on human rights, and the technical aspects relating to the implementation of the cease-fire, including the presence of the peace-keeping forces.

So, the talks are continuing in an atmosphere of complete respect and commitment. Like the two delegations have said, the more one talks, the clearer the process becomes.

This afternoon, the two sides will assess a document drafted by the observers in order to clarify the most outstanding queries. The document contains the same basic points, and all the two delegations have to do is to consider their views.

[Correspondent] The negotiator's skepticism is beginning to give way to a degree of hope. One can even notice that the negotiators have a firm tone of voice when they address newsmen.

[UNITA negotiator Jorge Valentim] We had a meeting this morning. We think it was very fruitful. We discussed the UN mandate on the role of the UN Angola Verification Mission-3. The crucial element, that is, the question of the blue helmets, was not opposed by the sides. It was a very positive meeting and we hope that the spirit that prevailed this morning will continue this afternoon when we discuss the protocol. We are optimistic that everything will go well.

[Unidentified reporter] President Soares has said that an agreement has been reached. While in London he learned that a cease-fire agreement has already been reached. Can you confirm that?

[Valentim] We are the ones who are negotiating. We will inform you. No accord has yet been reached, though everything is going well.

[Reporter] Do you mean today?

[Valentim] Well, we are still negotiating.

[Correspondent] Meanwhile, the Ivorian Government does not seem to be sparing efforts in its mediating role. Foreign Affairs Minister Amara Essy's agenda is virtually filled with the Angolan dossier. He has set a temporary office on the 23d floor of the Ivoire Hotel.

[Unidentified reporter in French] [words indistinct].

[Essy] [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] Although it has been reported that a cease-fire accord has been reached, it appears that concrete evidence will be disclosed later on.

[Unidentified reporter] President Soares said he received a telegram in London, saying that the sides had reached agreement on a cease-fire. Can you confirm that?

[Government negotiator Carneiro] Not as yet.

[Reporter] You have not yet reached an agreement?

[Carneiro] No, because this afternoon we will discuss the draft protocol. Perhaps it will be the definitive version of the protocol.

[Reporter] So, an accord could be signed today?

[Carneiro] I do not know. Let us see. I would not say that it will be signed today, though we will discuss it.

[Reporter] Are you well disposed, general?

[Carneiro] We are going to discuss the principled accord.

[Reporter] Has an agreement been reached on the blue helmets?

[Carneiro] Yes.

[Reporter] General, you are smiling. Does that mean you are optimistic?

[Carneiro] No, I am still in the same mood.

[Reporter] Regarding the blue helmets, there are reports of an interposition of probably the [words indistinct].

[Carneiro] No, we have not discussed the question of interposition. We regard the blue helmets as a peace-keeping force, instead of an interposition force. They have, however, a specific task which will be outlined in the UNAVEM mandate. [end recording]

### Cease-Fire Linked to Blue Helmets

AF2804143193 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 1245 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] The Angolan Government delegation this morning refused to react to the statement made by Jonas Savimbi that the principle of a cease-fire in Angola has been absolutely achieved. General Higino Carneiro, deputy chief of Army staff of the government Army, appeared to even doubt this statement.

On the other hand, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] delegation taking part in the talks in Abidjan appeared very optimistic before the opening of the plenary session this morning. This session is devoted to the examination of the Abidjan draft protocol, a general report of the troika. The negotiators will also debate the UN observers' mandate in Angola. According to the leader of the UNITA delegation, the UN mandate is an important element in the cease-fire agreement. Let us listen to Dr. Jorge Valentim:

[Begin Valentim recording] It is true that we are holding discussions on the cease-fire. It is a very important element for peace in Angola, but this cease-fire is linked to a new UN blue helmet mandate and that is what we are going to discuss this morning. We will then discuss the protocol later. We are optimistic that a good job will be done. These are our national responsibilities. We want peace in Angola. Pragmatic and solid approaches are necessary for peace in Angola. We are Angolans and we want the well-being of the Angolan people. [end recording]

### UN To Continue Operations After Plane Downing

MB2804142293 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] While peace talks are under way in Abidjan, in Angola the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has downed yet another Antonov in the service of the World Food Program [WFP]. A Russian member of the crew has died and others were injured. The crew arrived in Luanda this afternoon.

A missile fired by Jonas Savimbi's followers yesterday hit an aircraft leased by the WFP. The incident occurred at Luena Airport, Moxico Province, at about 1100 [1000 GMT], some 13 minutes after the aircraft, a Russian-made Antonov-12, had unloaded more than six tonnes of

foodstuffs for the needy. Even after being hit, the aircraft's crew managed to make an emergency landing, but in view of the magnitude of the attack, the crew suffered serious wounds. Flight engineer V. Nesterenko was killed. The Angolan translator who was on board is in a critical condition. Andrey Orlov, another member of the crew, is in intensive care with chest wounds.

The passengers on the aircraft returned to Luanda this afternoon. They were visibly saddened. This is the fourth relief aircraft to be hit by UNITA in a space of approximately 40 days.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] This is an Antonov-12, an aircraft similar to the one downed by Jonas Savimbi's organization in the city of Luena yesterday. Through its radio station, the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel, UNITA today confirmed the downing of the aircraft in the service of the WFP. UNITA has even gone as far as to threaten Phillippe Borel, WFP's director of operations in Angola. Nevertheless, the WFP says food aid for Angolan war victims will continue.

[Borel, in Spanish] We are very moved by this incident. We do not know what we will do. As yet we do not intend to abandon Angolans who are suffering because some people do not understand our mission.

[Reporter] The activities will continue, won't they?

[Borel] We will not stop our activities. We have been here for a year now. We have set up this program aimed at assisting the needy. We will not let people go without food or starve to death because some people do not understand the importance of aid. [end recording]

The WFP is assisting Angola's war and natural disasters victims. Its activities form part of a huge program coordinated by the representative of Butrus-Ghali in Angola. Several international organizations based in Angola are also involved in the program. The WFP has had the lion's share of the operation since the war resumed in November 1992.

Meanwhile, the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 has already begun investigations, closely working with the WFP.

### UNITA: Downed WFP Plane Carrying Bombs

MB2904064393 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] General Staff for the Eastern Front informed the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel [Vorgan] yesterday that the Antonov-12 aircraft shot down by a FALA antiaircraft missile over Luena was carrying bombs and other equipment intended for the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA].

Our source reports that the aircraft crashed at the end of the Luena airstrip, on a field where the FAPLA forces had planted Russian-made mines.

Also yesterday, the FALA Command for the Eastern Front regretted the fact that nothing had been reported about humanitarian aid operations for Luena, so safety guarantees could have been given. It should be recalled that the World Food Program had suspended its operations to Luena two weeks ago.

#### **Ministers Recommend Release of UNITA Personnel**

*MB2804200393 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Prime Minister Marcelino Moco today chaired a meeting of the Ministers Council's Regional and Local Affairs Commission. The meeting discussed, among other issues, the situation of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA] civilian and military elements still in government custody. The ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY reports that the commission decided to recommend the release of UNITA's civilian elements who have been in custody since the October and November 1992 clashes. Regarding UNITA's military personnel in government custody, the commission recommended a case-by-case study of the situation with a view to releasing them. The commission also recommended that the release of both civilian and military elements should be closely monitored by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The commission has also recommended that the Assistance and Social Reintegration Ministry should assist in whatever way it can those elements who may face difficulties upon their release. Assistance should be given particularly to those who live outside their areas of origin.

#### **Mozambique**

##### **Dhlakama: 15,000 Soldiers Transferred to Police**

*MB2804113393 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader, has again accused the government of having transferred 15,000 army soldiers to the police. In a news conference in Bonn, Germany, Dhlakama said the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party intends to intimidate Renamo and other parties during the electoral campaign. He also accused the government of not making available housing to the Renamo representatives in the peace accord commissions. Those representatives are supposed to help Renamo become a political party.

The Renamo leader also demanded that new talks be held concerning the drawing up of a new timetable for the implementation of the peace accord. Dhlakama said

he would meet Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano soon and added the international observers to the peace process are working to that end. He alleged he had not gone to Lichinga for a meeting with the Mozambican head of state because the international observers were not present.

#### **Dhlakama Seeks Support in Germany**

*MB2804142393 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Report by Radio Mozambique correspondent Santana Afonso from Germany]

[Text] Germany was one of Afonso Dhlakama's principal objectives within the context of his diplomatic policy. This was the case even before the General Peace Accord was signed in Rome. Despite the insistence of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], Germany openly declared that it would receive the Renamo leader once the accords had been signed.

Last night Dhlakama attended a conference organized by the German-African Foundation, where he was received with some reservations by a full house. There were many contradictions, but the Renamo leader's blunders were even worse in the face of an extremely well informed audience which was concerned about the situation in Mozambique.

Dhlakama behaved humbly and very respectfully, repeating on a number of occasions that his statements were not, quote, complaints against the government, unquote. He said, quote, I am not here to make accusations. I realize Renamo is complying in full with the peace accords. Renamo needs two legs to be able to walk, unquote.

His speech was followed by questions from people linked to various sectors of Germany's political life, including politicians, newsmen, and members of nongovernmental organizations. It did not enthuse anybody. It did not even excite those present into asking some fundamental questions. In our opinion, those people were there because they were curious rather than interested. Nevertheless, the Renamo leader assumed his previous stands and reaffirmed what he had told Mozambican newsmen in Maringue, notably, quote, peace is there, unquote.

He also blamed the government for certain problems ranging from logistical to merely military matters. The public is well aware of this. The picture he painted of the process left much to be desired. Many people often looked at each other without commenting. He denied ties with South Africa, leading to guffaws and sarcastic laughter among the audience. He agreed that some 10 to 15 year old children had reached Renamo bases and then taken up arms to fight the Cubans, Tanzanians, and Zimbabweans. He forgot to mention the Malawians, why exactly we do not know. However, he accused the

Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] of having started using children as fighters during the national liberation struggle.

To conclude, Afonso Dhlakama's visit to Germany was useful. We know that the Germans placed pressure on him to abide by the accords signed in Rome. This was especially the case with the Bundestag deputies. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the coordinator of the conference said at the headquarters of the German-African Foundation in Bonn after Dhlakama spoke: Quote, thank you very much, Mr. Dhlakama. You have inspired us with courage, but not much, unquote.

Much more could be said. Personally, I would like to conclude by asking: Who continues to be behind them [Renamo]? Why do I keep thinking that Renamo is still very naive?

#### Government Accused of Intimidating Renamo Members

MB2804173193 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Gilberto Catema, the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] political representative in Cabo Delgado Province, said in Pemba on 17 April that the government and the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party in that province are violating the General Peace Accord by intimidating the residents into rejecting Renamo and other emergent political parties. According to Catema, intimidation has been reported mainly in the Districts of Balama, Namumo, Chiure, Montepuez, and Macimboa da Praia, and in the city of Pemba. In the latter there have been threats on the lives of Renamo members by government and Frelimo Party officials.

Addressing hundreds of Pemba residents, including Renamo members and sympathizers as well as people interested in politics, Catema said that during Renamo's first public meeting that there is still no sign of offices for his political officials, which could delay Renamo's activities.

During the meeting, the Renamo political representative said that little attention is being given to Renamo-controlled areas. He said, quote, we know that people living in Renamo-controlled areas in Cabo Delgado are experiencing hardships. We have accordingly informed the donors to freely channel their donations once they contact us. In February, we asked the German Agrarian Action for food assistance. We were given 10 metric tons of corn for the Nairoto area. We have presented this problem to the provincial government more than three times, but as is the norm, up until today the food is in warehouses in the city of Pemba. In some Renamo-controlled areas, residents live on honey only, unquote. [passage omitted]

#### Frelimo Criticizes Renamo's Political Campaign

MB2804163693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Eliseu Machava, first Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party secretary for Gaza Province, has accused the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] of disregarding the law on political parties.

[Begin recording] [Machava] It is true that the emerging political parties have a role to play in the development of democracy in the country. There are, however, a number of attitudes that make people have doubts about those parties. Some people have noted that Renamo officials operate in a given area without adhering to the law on political parties. They arrive in an area and begin campaigning without first reporting to the authorities. People have doubts about this type of behavior. Renamo officials have also promised to give money to the residents and have even approached Frelimo members to join Renamo.

[Unidentified reporter] Does that mean that we have the same situation as in Manica Province?

[Machava] In Manica Province there have been cases in which party membership cards were taken away. This has not yet happened here. What we have here are cases in which Renamo officials approach individuals and promise them money. They also urge the residents to join Renamo. We know that they have invaded a school to the extent that someone had to take action. That is not right. Renamo people approach children, make them promises, and take down their names. That is not right. [end recording]

#### Interview With Opposition Party Official

MB2904094893 Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 18 Apr 93 p 14

[Interview with Dr. Simeao Constantino Cuamba, a member of the Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence and National Reconstruction Party, by unidentified TEMPO magazine reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] [TEMPO] How do you view the current impasse in the implementation of the General Peace Accord for Mozambique? In your view, what are the true causes for the impasse?

[Cuamba] Before answering your questions, I would like to inform you that I shall not be taking sides regarding the signatories of this Accord, because I am a member of the Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence and National Reconstruction Party [Fumo-PCDRN]. I am also going to speak freely because I am no longer in the Public Service. I have been pensioned off by the Interior Ministry where I worked as a legal adviser.

Answering your questions, I recall that the Government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo]

signed a Peace Accord in Rome on 4 October 1992. According to the Accord—see Point No. 1 of Protocol I—the government “pledges not to act in a manner contrary to the terms of the signed protocol, not to approve laws or adopt measures and not to apply existing laws that would subsequently contradict the protocols”. On the other hand, Renamo pledged not to fight through the force of arms from the period the cease-fire came into effect.

Paragraph B of Point No. 7 of the sub-heading V of Protocol III (Principles of the Electoral Law) as well as Point No. 4 of the sub-heading II of Protocol V (Guarantees), stipulate that the Government “will engage itself in facilitating Renamo to obtain installations and resources for its housing, movement, and communications in order to allow it to carry out its activities in all the Provincial Capitals and other areas in the country....” Protocol V, sub-heading III, Point No. 4 adds: “The resources and installations stipulated in Protocol III, 7, and B will be made available by the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, from the time the General Peace Accord is approved as part of the Mozambican law by the Assembly of the Republic...”, and this has already been done.

According to reports, the government has not been providing food or sufficient resources to Renamo to enable it to fully carry out its activities, as was agreed upon in the accord. If this is the case, I feel it is legitimate for Renamo to pressure the Government to carry out its obligations, by suspending, as it has done, its participation in the Supervision and Control Commission [CSC], inasmuch as it has the right to demand that these obligations be fulfilled.

Accordingly, the true causes of the impasse, in my modest understanding, are connected with the lack of assistance or insufficient logistic assistance to Renamo by the Government. From what I have seen over the past six months, Renamo does not have bad faith. On the contrary, I see a commitment on its part to implement the Peace Accord through a peaceful path, instead of “returning to the bush”.

[TEMPO] Throughout this process, the government has been accusing Renamo of infiltrating foreign-trained battalions into the country. For its part, Renamo says the government has been integrating personnel from the army and the former Snasp [People's National Security Service] into the police force. That is in disregard of the accord. Are we not following the steps of the Angolan process?

[Cuamba] “To infiltrate” means to pass through a filter or to introduce something from outside. So, if the battalions were trained abroad, and according to reports, it was in Zimbabwe and Malawi, then those countries were the ones that introduced the battalions into Mozambique. Renamo cannot infiltrate or introduce something from outside because it is and has always been

in Mozambique. The accusation leveled at Renamo is ill-suited because it is illogical.

I should point out that I am interpreting the issue grammatically. Renamo could be blamed for accepting foreign forces in its ranks, which is not the case, but never for infiltrating them. Responsibility for the latter case lies with the countries that have allowed that to happen.

Regarding the second question of army and Snasp personnel being integrated into the police force, there are two aspects to it: whether the move was carried out either before or after the introduction of the General Peace Accord, and whether the government or the police decided to do that.

If it was before the General Peace Accord was introduced, then there is no violation. The whole issue is strange and suspicious because it has never been a government practice, particularly for the police, to recruit demobilized army personnel, save the very rare exceptions when troops who proved to be unsuitable for military service. Candidates for the police force have always been recruited among civilians due to begin military service, and it so happens that they do their stint in the police force. That is no secret, particularly for the youths. Suddenly, while the peace process was being negotiated, one saw the “dismantling” of Snasp, the demobilization of troops, and the latter’s absorption into the police force. Is that not strange and suspicious?

If integration was carried out when the Peace Accord was in force, then nobody doubts that the accord was flagrantly violated.

If the integration was decided by the Ministers Council, I believe that the matter should be disclosed and the CSC take the appropriate action. Should the decision have come from the Ministry of the Interior, which is the same as the police, the Reintegration Commission (Core), should refer the matter to the National Commission for Police Affairs (Compol) so that Core may deal with the matter in terms of Protocol IV on Military Matters.

I do not see the possibility of a repetition of the Angolan situation, because there are many differences between the Angolan and Mozambican peace processes. Ours was properly discussed over a two-year period which led the warring factions to sacrifice many of their principles in order to save a major one: peace. Our accord has, therefore, been delivered by “caesarean section.”

[TEMPO] I would like you to touch on the question of money that the government claims to have allocated to Renamo while the latter says it has not received it.

[Cuamba] I do not want to speculate. One side says it has given the money, and the other says it has not received it. It is up to the government to prove what happened to the money it claims to have given to Renamo. There are

legal means of allocating state funds. For instance, by means of Form No. 3, cheques, and so on.

The money comes from the taxpayers' pockets. So, I think that they are accountable to the tax payers and should disclose documentation through the media. If the government delivered foodstuffs then there should be delivery notes which are usually signed by those who issue and receive them. The citizens are suspicious about the government's good faith, a situation that has been aggravated by the fact that it has been widely reported that corruption is rampant in government circles. The public disclosure of proof would serve to end suspicions; otherwise, Frelimo may be discredited.

### Namibia

#### UN, Namibia Face Angolan Refugee 'Crisis'

MB2804190193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1751  
GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Windhoek April 28 SAPA—United Nations and Namibian Government officials rushed to Namibia's border with Angola with blankets, tents, food and medical supplies on Wednesday night to deal with the country's worst refugee crisis in more than three years.

Food relief officials said they planned to activate emergency funds and dig into food stocks to immediately start feeding refugees believed to be fleeing UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces in southern Angola's Cunene Province.

Most of the refugees were elderly people, babies and small children, leading officials to believe they had been told to flee and wait for their families to follow. "They are old and hungry and have hardly anything with them. There are also lots of babies and small children," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] co-ordinator Francesca Okaya said.

Officials could not give accurate figures for refugees already in Namibia, but they expected the number could soar to 5,000 within weeks. Ms Okaya said the UNHCR was expanding its operations in Namibia in response to a dramatically increased flow of refugees. "This is easily the worst we have seen since independence."

The number of refugees was increasing hourly. Most refugees spoken to said they had fled UNITA attacks on their villages, Ms Okaya said. Refugees were crossing over at all points of the "very porous" border.

At the Eenhana reception centre, refugees had increased from 52 to 270 in just three days, and many more people were expected, Ms Okaya said.

UNHCR officials from the organisation's Geneva head office had left for the Angolan border to inspect and assess four proposed sites for new refugee camps. Ms Okaya went to the border on Wednesday night with Home Affairs special advisor on refugees the Rev Ismael

Goagoseb. She said they planned to take as many blankets and emergency supplies as their vehicle could carry.

At Namibia's overcrowded main refugee camp in Osire, about 170km north-east of Windhoek, officials were struggling to meet the food, shelter and clothing requirements of the 600 refugees already there, Ms Okaya said.

World Food Programme Namibia Operations Director Douglas Coutts said his organisation planned to activate its US\$50,000 emergency relief fund to buy food for the refugees. Stocks would also be drawn from WFP [World Food Program] food supplies in Namibia. Food would be distributed from refugee reception centres along the border.

Mr Coutts said the WFP would start feeding 1,500 people with basic rations, but expected this could rise to 5,000. Many of the refugees had been staying with friends and relatives in the north of Namibia, but the region had become overcrowded as more and more people fled angola's bloody civil war, Ms Okaya said.

The Namibian Government said on Wednesday it was prepared to accommodate as many refugees as was necessary.

#### Kuwait Considers Financing Harbor Near Swakopmund

MB2604124693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1151  
GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 26 SAPA—Kuwaiti officials are working out details of possible financial assistance to Namibia for the establishment of a harbour north of Swakopmund, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported in Johannesburg on Monday. This was confirmed by Fisheries and Marine Resources Minister Helmut Angula, who recently returned from a five-day visit to Kuwait.

Angula told Namibian Broadcasting Corporation news in Windhoek that the managing director of the Kuwaiti fund for economic development of Arab and other under developed countries had agreed in principle to fund a feasibility study for a harbour.

Mowe Bay has been provisionally identified as a possible site. Should the plans go ahead, the harbour would be built on a commercial basis and could cost up to R[rand]600-million. The provisional plans provide for fish factories and a commercial harbour, while the harbour would also serve as base for oil exploration.

### Zambia

#### President Cuts Short Visit to Uganda

AB2804175293 Paris AFP in English 1710 GMT  
28 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Lusaka, April 28 (AFP)—President Frederick Chiluba cut short an official visit to Uganda on

Wednesday to join national mourning over the plane crash that killed most of the Zambian soccer team.

Zambians wept in the streets as news of the plane crash late Tuesday night off the coast of Gabon spread through the players' home country. Thirty people, including 25 players and officials heading for a World Cup qualifying match in Senegal, were killed.

Chiluba, a keen soccer fan who last watched his team over a month ago in a world qualifying encounter with Madagascar, was expected back from Uganda on Wednesday night.

The president is expected to declare a period of national mourning and award the footballers and officials a state funeral. The Zambian cabinet, chaired by vice president [as received] Levy Mwanawasa, held a lengthy meeting to discuss the disaster.

By lunchtime, many people were crying in the streets. The national team was considered the best Zambia had produced for more than a decade.

Zambian radio continued playing solemn music as the country waited to hear the outcome [of the] cabinet meeting. The government was expected to declare a period of national mourning until the footballers are buried.

Football is Zambia's national sport and most fans were convinced their team would get through Africa's second qualifying round to reach next year's World Cup finals in America.

"This is a national disaster and we do not foresee Zambia playing active soccer for a long time," said one Sports Ministry official. [passage omitted]

#### **UNIP Chairman Denies Involvement in Coup Plot**

*MB2804145593 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 27 Apr 93*

[Text] UNIP [United National Independence Party] President Kebby Musokotwane says he has nothing to do with the Zero Option Plan document. Addressing a public meeting at (Sonda) Square in (?Kahoma) yesterday, Mr. Musokotwane said he stood for nonviolence and, as such, he could not play any part in a government which could create problems for the country.

He criticized the UNIP government for having failed the people and predicted the MMD [Movement for Multi-party Democracy] government would [words indistinct] more than one-third, as it has also failed to solve their problems and instead created suffering.

Mr. Musokotwane accused the government of failing to uphold the country's rich heritage, adding that a failure by President Chiluba to attend this year's [name indistinct] ceremony showed his alleged disregard for the people of the Western Province.

#### **Export of Unprocessed Seed Cotton Banned**

*MB2804134593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0947 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Lusaka, April 27 SAPA—The Zambian Government has foiled an attempt by a group of South African businessmen to export most of Zambia's bumper cotton harvest this year for ginning in South Africa.

Deputy Agriculture Minister Gibson Nkausu confirmed in Lusaka on Wednesday that the ban has been slapped on the export of unprocessed seed cotton from Zambia. "We have cracked down on the cartel which has been planning the illegal deal."

Some South Africans have pasted posters in the cotton growing areas urging farmers to sell the produce to them at lucrative prices—taking advantage of the liberalised economic policies. Lint Company of Zambia (Lintco) General Manager Brian Mulala charged: "The dealers have been trying to woo farmers in Chibombo, Mkushi and Mumbwa Districts to sell their cotton to them for ginning in South Africa."

Lintco, Marklands, Swarp Spinning Mills, Mastock and Sinazungwe Cotton Growers Cooperative are government designated legal cotton seed buyers in Zambia. "South Africans risked being prosecuted if they attempted to continue with their illegal dealings," Mr Nkausu said. However, he explained: "Exports of processed lint and cotton seed will not be affected by the ban. This is the area where they should concentrate their resources."

Zambia had adequate cotton ginneries to process cotton: "Some of these South Africans are here under the guise of investment—it is unfortunate that they should engage in the shady deals," Mr Nkausu said.

### Cote d'Ivoire

#### Student Protests Continue; Police Disperse Rally

AB2804162893 Paris AFP in French 1215 GMT  
28 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Abidjan, 28 Apr (AFP)—The police dispersed several hundred students with tear gas today. The students were attending a rally organized by the Federation of University and High School Students of Cote d'Ivoire on the Yopougon campus in Abidjan.

According to eyewitness accounts, no one was wounded or arrested. Late in the morning police were busy clearing the main street through the campus, which the students had blocked with bricks. [passage omitted]

The protesting students demand the "immediate release" of 45 of their comrades who were arrested on 19 April and charged with vandalism after a meeting on the Cocody University campus.

### The Gambia

#### Alleged Armed Casamance Separatists Arrested

AB2404160093 Paris AFP in French 1801 GMT  
22 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Banjul, 22 Apr (AFP)—Police sources disclosed on 22 April that two armed men believed to be members of the separatist Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance were arrested in Sibenor on the Senegalese border on 21 April and are currently being held at the Yundum police station in Banjul. The same sources disclosed that the two men were carrying automatic weapons, grenades, and goods at the time of their arrest. Their identity was not revealed. According to the police, the men attacked and killed a Gambian shopkeeper in Dioni, Gambia, before looting his shop. [passage omitted]

### Guinea-Bissau

#### President Vieira Names New Education Minister

AB2804212093 Paris AFP in French 1540 GMT  
26 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Bissau, 26 Apr (AFP)—Guinea Bissau's President Joao Bernardo Vieira today made a minor Cabinet reshuffle, marked by the departure of National Education Minister Alexandre Furtado. Minister Furtado tendered his resignation to head of state, according to official sources in Bissau.

There is no indication as to the reasons for Mr. Furtado's departure. He is the second national education minister to resign from office within two years after Manuel Rambout Barcelos in 1991.

Mr. Furtado has been replaced by Mr. Fernando Delfim da Silva, former secretary of state for culture and sports, a

post he will occupy concurrently with that of the Ministry of National Education, an official source stated. [passage omitted]

### Split in FDS; Lack of Organization Criticized

AB2804215393 Dakar PANA in French 1130 GMT  
28 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Bissau, 28 Apr (ANG/PANA)—The Democratic Socialist Front [FDS] of Mr. Rafael Barbosa, first chairman of the ruling African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, has once again experienced a schism, the fourth since its inception. A five-member group, all of them members of the party's political commission, announced at a news conference in Bissau their withdrawal from the group.

According to the group spokesman, Mr. Serifo Mane, their withdrawal from the FDS can be explained by the fact that a minority of the party leadership, including Chairman Barbosa, refuses to restructure the party with 50 percent of the members in favor of the policy. Mr. Mane also said that the group is planning to create a new political party.

The members leaving the FDS said that there is a lack of organization within the party. They denounce the appointment—and this without the approval of the FDS political commission—of Mr. Barbosa's cousin as the representative of the party to the National Electoral Commission. According to Mr. Djibril Balde, the opposition in its majority does not meet the expectations of the people of Guinea-Bissau. [passage omitted]

### Liberia

#### ECOMOG Begins 'Final Campaign' To Disarm Factions

AB2904132093 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Excerpt] The West African peace monitoring force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], has begun its final campaign to disarm the warring factions in war-ravaged Liberia. Reports say it has become uncertain whether the rebel NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader, Charles Taylor, is still in hiding somewhere within Liberia's strong forests, or has fled into exile in the Burkinafaso capital, Ouagadougou. Foreign news correspondent Godwill Ado has just received radio reports of what is considered the most devastating blow ever dealt the NPFL rebellion.

[Begin recording] For close to three years, Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front, NPFL, and self-styled president of Liberia's revolutionary government, has been terrorizing the countryside with his right guard army. His main source of revenue for fueling his rebellion has been Liberia's second largest port city of Buchanan in the Grand Bassa County. In a recent joint air, land, and sea operation, ECOMOG troops chased the rebels out of the port city.

Charles Taylor had used Buchanan port for the illegal exportation of iron ore, timber, and rubber, as well as for the shipment of arms into his rebel enclave. The ECOMOG operation is in continuation of the peace enforcement measures aimed at creating a conducive atmosphere for general elections as provided for under Yamoussoukro IV Peace Agreement. At the Buchanan port, ECOMOG recovered and put on display a large assortment of weapons and communication equipment belonging to the Ghanaian contingent. The stocks were looted by NPFL rebels when Taylor ordered them to forcibly disarm the ECOMOG troops deployed to the hinterland last August.

The ECOMOG field commander, Nigeria's General Tunji Olurin, said the capture of Buchanan was carried out without any civilian casualty and little damage to key installations. Gen. Olurin took the president of Liberia's Interim Government, Dr. Amos Sawyer, special UN representative Sir Gordon-Somers, and a member of the OAU eminent persons group, former President Canaan Banana, on a tour of Buchanan. They met with captured rebel troops and thousands of displaced persons. President Sawyer called on everyone to cooperate with ECOMOG in its peace enforcement function. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Nigeria

#### Fuel Shortage Hits Benue State Capital

*AB2804133793 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 27 Apr 93*

[Text] Reports from Makurdi, the Benue State capital, say economic activities have been totally paralyzed due to the continuing fuel scarcity there. Correspondent Samuel Ogunde reports that the three-week-old scarcity has caused a new total seizure of vehicular movement, as no filling station in Makurdi and environs had any fuel to sell as at 2 o'clock today.

Commercial vehicle drivers told our correspondent that those of them who are able to operate get their supplies from outside the state in containers. Some marketers say they are expecting fuel from Warri in Delta State and that the NNPC [Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation] depot in Makurdi has no fuel. Our correspondent reports that the NTA news crew could not reach the NNPC officials at their office located 15 km from the town due to the fuel problem.

Meanwhile, transport fares have shot up and are increasing by the hour, while traders have increased prices.

### Senegal

#### Government To Stop Hostilities Against Casamance Rebels

*AB2904103293 Dakar PANA in English 1214 GMT 28 Apr 93*

[Text] Dakar, 28 April (APS-SEN/PANA)—The Senegalese Government has agreed to effectively stop all hostilities against Casamance rebels in the southern part of the

country to pave way for negotiations with leaders of the separatist Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC).

The decision was announced in a communique issued at the end of a Council of Ministers meeting in Dakar on Tuesday [27 April]. The communique quoted President Abdou Diouf as saying he received with satisfaction a message from the MFDC communicated to him by mediators between the two parties.

Instructions have been given to the relevant ministries for effective cease-fire in order to facilitate, with minimum delay, the opening of negotiations which will bring lasting peace as well as the relaunching of economic activities in the region, the communique said.

On 8 April, the secretary-general of the MFDC, Rev. Father Augustin Diamacounde Senghor, who returned to Ziguinchor, capital of Casamance after eight years in exile in Guinea-Bissau, called for a cease-fire and dialogue in Casamance.

### Sierra Leone

#### Strasser Marks Independence Anniversary

*AB2804145393 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 2000 GMT 27 Apr 93*

[Excerpt] The chairman of the NRPC [National Provisional Ruling Council] and head of state, Captain Valentine Strasser, has today expressed his best and sincere wishes for the country's early success in its fight against the rebels and his determined efforts to resuscitate the economy so that lasting peace and prosperity may once again return to Sierra Leone.

In a nationwide broadcast marking the 32d anniversary of independence, Capt. Strasser extended his heartiest congratulations to all Sierra Leoneans, wherever they may be. A reception hosted by Capt. and Mrs. Strasser to mark the anniversary was held at State House this evening.

Meanwhile, Capt. Strasser said in an interview with the weekly (*LIBERTY DAY*) newspaper quoted by SLENA that the rebel war, like a (?reckless) monster has been [words indistinct] of the state coffers. The head of state observed that more gains could have been registered without the war. He said the rebels had been kept at bay and that Kono is much safer, Pujehun militarily secure, and most significantly, the morale of the fighting men, very high. Everything is especially tied to the rebel war, Capt. Strasser explained, adding that with the persistence of the war, the road to multipartyism seemed rather [words indistinct].

On the economy, the head of state said the inflation rate was under control. Prices of essential commodities have recovered an all-time stability achieved mainly because [words indistinct] more appealing to world financial institutions like the World Bank and IMF. On security, Capt. Strasser said there is no cause for alarm. [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

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**30 APRIL 1993**

